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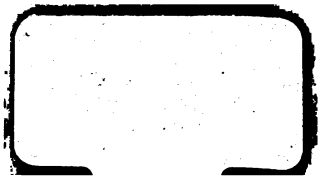

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS THE YOUNGER

IN

GREECE,

DURING

THE MIDDLE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

BY THE ABBE BARTHELEMY,

LATE KEEPER OF THE MEDALS IN THE CABINET OF THE KING OF FRANCE, AND MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES;

AND A SEVENTH, IN QUARTO, CONTAINING

Maps, Plans, Views, and Coins,

Illustrative of the Geography and Antiquities of ancient Greece.

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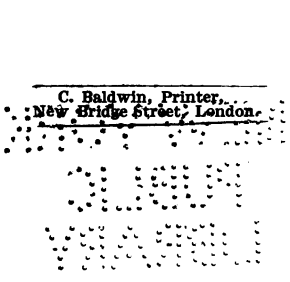

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TRAVELS

OF

ANACHARSIS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Conversations on the Grecian Music.

I WENT one day to see Philotimus, in a small house he had without the walls of Athens, on the little hill of the Cynosarges, at the distance of three stadia from the gate of Melita. Its situation was delightful. On every side the eye reposed on rich and various landscapes. Besides a view of the different parts of the city and its environs, the prospect extended beyond them as far as the mountains of Salamis, Corinth, and even of Arcadia.[a]

We went into a little garden cultivated by Philotimus himself, and which furnished him with plenty of fruit and vegetables: its sole ornament consisted in a grove of plane-trees, in the midst of which stood an altar dedicated to the Muses. It is always with pain, said Philotimus with a sigh, that I tear myself

[a] Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, p. 9.

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from this retirement. I will superintend the education of the son of Apollodorus, since I have promised it; but it is the last time I will sacrifice my liberty. Seeing me express astonishment at this language, he added: The Athenians no longer stand in need of instruction. They are so accomplished! Alas! what can be said to people who daily lay it down as a principle that one pleasurable sensation is preferable to all the truths of morality?

The house seemed to be furnished with no less taste than modesty. In a cabinet we found lyres, flutes, and instruments of various kinds, some of which have ceased to be in use.[x] Several shelves were filled with books relative to music. I desired Philotimus to point out those proper to teach me the principles of that science. There are none to be found, replied he; we have only an inconsiderable number of superficial works on the enharmonic genus,[y] and a greater number on the preference to be given, in education, to certain kinds of music.[z] No author has hitherto undertaken methodically to investigate and explain the whole of the science.

I then expressed so earnest a desire that he would endeavour to give me at least some idea of the subject, that he complied with my wishes.

FIRST CONVERSATION.

On the Technical Part of Music.

You may judge, said Philotimus, of our taste for

[x] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 6. [y] Aristot. Harm. Elim. lib. 1. p. 2 et 4; lib. 2. p. 36. [z] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 7.

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music, by the great variety of senses in which we employ the word. We apply the term indifferently to melody, measure, poetry, dancing, gesticulation, the union of all the sciences, and the knowledge of almost every art. Nor is this all: the spirit of system and combination, which for near two centuries has introduced itself among us, and impelled us to search every where for affinities, has suggested, that even the motions of the heavenly bodies,[a] and the operations of the mind,[b] are subjected to the laws of harmony.

But, not to dwell on what is foreign to the subject, our business at present is with music properly so called, the elements of which I shall endeavour to explain to you, if you will promise to support without impatience the tiresome details into which I must enter. I promised, and he continued his discourse as follows:

In music, we distinguish sounds, intervals, concords, genera, modes, rhythmus, mutations, and melopœia.[c] The two latter articles relating only to composition, I shall say nothing of them, but treat succinctly of the others.

The sounds we utter in speaking and singing, though formed by the same organs, produce different effects. Does this difference arise, as some pretend,[d] from the circumstance of the voice proceeding in singing by more distinct intervals, resting longer on

[a] Plin. lib. 2. c. 22. Censorin. c. 13, &c. [b] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1147. [c] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 398. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 1. Aristid. Quintil. de Mus. lib. 1. p. 9. [d] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 8. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 2.

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a syllable, and being more frequently suspended by marked pauses?

Each space or transition of the voice might be divided into an infinity of parts; but the organ of hearing, though susceptible of a great variety of sensations, is less delicate than that of speech, and is only capable of discerning a certain number of intervals.[e] How are these to be determined? The Pythagoreans have recourse to calculations; musicians to the judgment of the ear.[f]

Philotimus now took a monochord or ruler,[g] on which was stretched a line fastened at both ends to two immoveable bridges. We slid a third bridge under the string, and stopping it at different divisions traced out on the rule, I readily perceived that the respective portions produced sounds sharper than the whole string; that the half gave the diapason or octave, three-fourths sounded a fourth, and two-thirds a fifth. You see, added Philotimus, that the sound of the whole string is to the sound of its parts as the length of the whole is to that of these same parts, and that accordingly the octave is in the proportion of 2 to 1, or of 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$; the fourth in that of 4 to 3, and the fifth in that of 3 to 2.

The most simple divisions of the monochord have given us the intervals most agreeable to the ear. If we suppose the whole string to sound

[e] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 53. [f] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 32. Meibom. ibid. Plut. de Mus. p. 1144. [g] Aristid. Quintil. Boëth. de Mus. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 1443.

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E,* I shall express them thus: *E*, *A*, a fourth; *E*, *B*, a fifth; *E*, *E*, an octave.

To have the double octave, it is only necessary to divide the numerical expression of the octave, which is $\frac{1}{2}$, by 2, and we shall have $\frac{1}{4}$. He showed me likewise that the fourth of the whole string sounded the double octave.

After teaching me the manner of producing the fourth from the fourth, and the fifth from the fifth, I asked him how he determined the proportion of the tone. That is done, said he, by taking the difference between the fifth and the fourth, between *B* and *A*:[h] now the fourth, that is to say the fraction $\frac{3}{4}$, is to the fifth or fraction $\frac{2}{3}$ as 9 is to 8.

In fine, added Philotimus, it is proved, by a series of operations, that the semitone or interval, for instance, from *E* to *F*, is in the proportion of 256 to 243.[i]

Below the semitone we make use of thirds and fourths of a tone,[k] but without being able to fix their relations, or venturing to flatter ourselves that we can attain a rigorous precision. I grant even that it is difficult for the most practised ear to discriminate them.[l]

I asked Philotimus whether, disregarding these almost imperceptible sounds, he could successively produce from a monochord all those of a determinate

* To make myself understood, I am obliged to employ the letters made use of in our gamut. Instead of *E*, the Greeks would have said either the *hypate* or the *mese*, or the *hypate of the meses*. [h] Aristox. Elem. Harm. lib. 1. p. 21. [i] Theon. Smyrn. p. 102. [k] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 46. [l] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 19.

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quantity, and which form the scale of the musical system. To effect that, said he, would require a string of an immoderate length; but we may supply that deficiency by calculation. Let us suppose one divided into 8192 equal parts,[m] and which sounds *B*.*

The ratio of the semitone, as, for example, that of *B* to *C* being supposed as 256 to 243, we shall find that 256 is to 8192 as 243 is to 7776, which last number consequently should give us the *C*.

The ratio of the tone being, as we have said, as 9 to 8, it is evident that, by subtracting the 9th of 7776, there will remain 6912 for *D*.

By continuing the same operation on the remaining numbers, either with respect to the tones or semitones, we shall easily carry our scale far beyond the reach both of the voice and instruments, and as high as the fifth octave of *B*, whence we set out. It will be given us by 256, and the following *C* by 243; and we shall thus have the proportion of the semitone, which I had only hypothetically assumed.

Philotimus worked all these calculations as he went on; and when he had finished them, Hence it follows, said he, that in this long scale the tones and semitones are all perfectly equal; you will find likewise that the intervals of the same nature are perfectly just: that the tone and a half, or minor third, for instance, is always in the proportion of 32 to 27; the ditone, or major third, in that of 81 to 64.[n]

But, said I to him, how is this to be ascertained

[m] Euclid. p. 37. Aristid. Quintil. lib. 3. p. 116. * See note I. at the end of the volume. [n] Roussier, Mus. des Anc. p. 197 et 249.

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in practice? Beside long habit, answered he, we sometimes employ, by way of greater accuracy, the combination of fourths and fifths, obtained by means of one or more monochords.[o] The difference between the fourth and the fifth having furnished me the tone, if I wish to procure the major third below any given tone, as *A*, I ascend to the fourth *D*, then descend to the fifth *G*, rise again to the fourth *C*, and again sinking to the fifth, I have *F*, the major third below *A*.

Intervals are consonant or dissonant.[p] In the first class we rank the fourth, the fifth, the octave, the eleventh, the twelfth, and the double octave; but the latter are only repetitions of the former. The other intervals, known by the name of dissonant, have been gradually introduced into melody.

The octave is the most pleasing, because it is the most natural consonance.[q] This is the concord produced by the voice of children when mingled with that of men.[r] It is produced likewise by the twanging of a string, the sound in dying away giving its own octave.[s]

Philotimus wishing to prove that the chords of the fourths and fifths[t] were not less conformable to nature, showed me on his monochord, that in a continued declamation, as well as in familiar conversation, the voice more frequently expresses these intervals than others.

[o] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 55. [p] Id. ibid. p. 44. Euclid. Introd. Harm. p. 8. [q] Aristot. Problem. t. ii. p. 766. [r] Id. Probl. 39. p. 768. [s] Id. Probl. 24 et 32. [t] Nicom. p. 16. Dionys. Halicarn. de Compos. sect. 11.

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I only glide over them, said I, in passing from one tone to another; but, in singing, are the sounds that produce a concord never heard at the same time?

Singing, answered he, is but a succession of sounds. Voices always sing either in unison or in octaves, which are distinguishable from unisons only, because they are more pleasing to the ear.[u] As for the other intervals, the ear only judges of their proportion, by a comparison of the sound which has just ceased to strike it with that which occupies it at the moment.[x] It is only in concerts, where the voice is accompanied by instruments, that we are able to distinguish different and simultaneous sounds; for to correct the simplicity of song, the lyre and flute sometimes throw in touches and variations by which distinct parts result from the main subject; but they soon return from these deviations, not to offend the astonished ear too long with such licentiousness.[y]

You have determined, said I, the proportions of intervals: I guess the use to which they are applied in melody; but I should wish to know what order you assign them on instruments. Cast your eyes, said he, on that tetrachord; you will there see in what manner intervals are distributed in our scale, and learn the system of our music. The four strings of this cithara are so disposed, that the two extremes, which are always fixed, produce in ascending the fourth,

[u] Aristot. Probl. 39. p. 763. [x] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 39.
[y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 7. p. 912. Aristot. Probl. 39. p. 763. Mem. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. iii. p. 119.

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E, A.[a] The two middle strings, called moveable ones, from admitting of different degrees of tension, constitute three genera of harmony, the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic.

In the diatonic genus the four strings proceed by a semitone and two tones, *E F, G A*; in the chromatic, by two semitones and a minor third, *E, F, F* sharp, *A*; in the enharmonic, by two quarter tones and a major third, *E, E* quarter tone, *F, A*.

As the moveable strings are susceptible of more or less tension, and may consequently produce greater or less intervals, from hence results another species of diatonic, which admits the three quarter and five quarter tones, and two other species of chromatic, in one of which the tone, by dint of divisions, resolves itself, if I may so speak, into particles.[a] As for the enharmonic, I have seen it sometimes practised in my youth according to proportions, which varied in each species of harmony:[b] but it now seems to me determinate; accordingly we will adhere to the method I have pointed out to you, and which notwithstanding the criticisms of some musicians is that most generally adopted.[c]

To extend our system of music, it was deemed sufficient to multiply the tetrachords; but these additions were made gradually. The art encountered obstacles in laws that prescribed bounds to it, and in ignorance that impeded its advancement. Every where new experiments were tried. In some

[a] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 22. Euclid. p. 6. [a] Id. ibid. p. 24.
[b] Aristid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 21. [c] Aristox. ibid. p. 22 et 23.

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countries strings were added to the lyre; in others they were taken away.[d] At length the heptachord appeared, and for some time engaged general attention. It is this seven-stringed lyre.—The four first strings give us the ancient tetrachord, *E, F, G, A*; over this is a second, *A, B* flat, *C, D*, which proceeds by the same intervals, and the lowest string of which is the same with the highest of the former. These two tetrachords are called *conjuncts*, from being united by the mean term *A*, which is equally removed from its two extremities by the interval of a fourth, *A, E* in descending, and *A, D* in ascending.[e]

At length, Terpander the musician, who lived about three hundred years ago, took away the fifth string, the *B* flat, and, substituting a new one a tone higher, obtained this series of sounds, *E, F, G, A, C, D, E*, the extremes of which sound the octave.[f] This second heptachord not giving two complete tetrachords, Pythagoras, according to some,[g] or Lycaon of Samos, according to others,[h] corrected its imperfection, by inserting an eighth string a tone above *A*.

Philotimus now took up an eight-stringed cithara. There, said he, is the octachord resulting from the additional eighth string. It is composed of two tetrachords, but *disjuncts*, that is to say, the one separated from the other, *E, F, G, A, B, C, D, E*. In the first heptachord, *E, F, G, A, B* flat, *C, D*, all the

[d] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1144. [e] Erastocl. ap. Aristox. lib. 1. p. 5. [f] Aristot. Probl. 7 et 32. t. iv. p. 763. [g] Nicom. Harmon. Man. lib. 1. p. 9. [h] Boëth. de Mus. lib. 1. c. 20.

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homologous strings sounded the fourth, *E A F B* flat, *G C, A D.* In the octachord they give the fifth, *E B, F C, G D, A E.*[1]

The octave was now called *harmony,* because it comprised the fourth and fifth, that is to say, all the concords;[k] and as these intervals more frequently occur in the octachord than in other instruments, the eight-stringed lyre was, and still is, esteemed the most perfect system for the diatonic genus; and hence it is that Pythagoras,[l] his disciples, and the other philosophers of our day,[m] confine the theory of music within the limits of an octave, or two tetrachords.

After various attempts to increase the number of strings,[n] a third tetrachord was added below the first,[o] and the endecachord was produced, composed of eleven strings,[p] which gave this series of sounds, *B, C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C, D, E.* Other musicians begin to apply four, nay even as many as five, tetrachords to their lyres.*

Philotimus next shewed me some citharas better calculated to execute certain airs than to form the model of a system. Such was the magadis sometimes made use of by Anacreon;[q] it was composed of twenty strings, which were reducible to ten, because each of

[1] Nicom. Man. lib. 1. p. 14. [k] Id. ibid. p. 17. [l] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1145. [m] Philol. ap. Nicom. p. 17. Aristot. Probl. 19. t. ii. p. 763. Id. ap. Plut. de Mus. p. 1139. [n] Plut. in Agid. t. i. 799. Suid. in Τιμοθ, &c. [o] Nicom. lib. i. p. 21. [p] Plut. de Mus. p. 1136. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 237. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 241. * See note II. at the end of the volume. [q] Anacr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 634.

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them was accompanied by its octave. Such again was the epigonium, invented by Epigonus of Ambracia, the first who struck the strings with his fingers instead of making use of a bow.[r] As far as I can recollect, his forty strings, which for the same reason were in fact but twenty, presented only a triple heptachord, capable of being applied to the three genera, or to three different modes.

Have you ascertained, said I, the number of tones and semitones, grave or acute, within the compass of the voice and instruments? The voice in general, said he, can only embrace two octaves and a fifth. Instruments have a more extensive compass.[s] We have flutes that reach beyond the third octave. Generally speaking, the changes daily introduced in our musical system will not allow us to fix the number of sounds employed in it. The two middle strings of each tetrachord being capable of different degrees of tension, produce, as some pretend, according to the difference of the three genera and their species, the three-fourths, the third, the fourth, and other minuter subdivisions of the tone. Thus in each tetrachord the second string gives four species of *C* or *F*, and the third six species of *D* or *G*.[t] They would produce, as I may say, an infinity of sounds, were we to attend to the licence musicians allow themselves, who, to vary their harmony, brace or relax the moveable strings of the instrument at pleasure, and express

[r] Poll. lib. 4. c. 9. § 59. Athen. lib. 4. p. 183. [s] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 20. Euclid. p. 13. [t] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 51.

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shades of sounds, the exact value of which it is impossible for the ear to ascertain.[a]

The diversity of modes also produces new sounds. Raise or let down the strings of a lyre a tone or semitone, and you pass into another mode. The nations, which, in remote ages, cultivated music, differed respecting the fundamental tone of the tetrachord, as we see some neighbouring nations still begin to reckon the days of their months from different points of time.[x] The Dorians executed the same air a tone lower than the Phrygians; and the latter a tone still lower than the Lydians. Hence the denomination of the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian modes. In the first, the lowest string of the tetrachord is *E*, in the second *F* sharp, in the third *G* sharp. Other modes have been afterwards added to the former; all of them have more than once varied with respect to form.[y] We see new ones spring up[z] in proportion as the system extends itself, or music experiences vicissitudes; and as, in time of a revolution it is difficult for the citizens to retain their respective ranks in the state, the musicians are endeavouring to bring the Phrygian and Lydian modes, which have always been separated by the interval of a whole tone,[a] nearer to each other by a quarter tone.

Endless questions are perpetually started respecting the position, order, and number of the other modes. I wave many particulars, which would be

[a] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 48 et 49. [x] Id. ibid. p. 37. [y] Id. lib. 1. p. 23. [z] Plut. de Mus. p. 1136. [a] Aristox. lib. 2. p. 37.

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equally tiresome to us both. The opinion which begins to be the prevailing one admits thirteen modes,[b] at the distance of a semitone from each other, ranged in the following order and beginning with the hypodorian, which is the gravest.

Hypodorian,	*B.*
Hypophrygian grave,	*C.*
Hypophrygian acute,	*C* sharp.
Hypolidian grave,	*D.*
Hypolidian acute,	*D* sharp.
Dorian,	*E*
Iönian,	*F.*
Phrygian,	*F* sharp.
Eolian, or Lydian, grave,	*G.*
Lydian grave,	*G* sharp.
Mixolydian acute,	*A.*
Mixolydian acute,	*A* sharp.
Hypermixolydian,	*B.*

All these modes have a peculiar character, which they receive not so much from the principal tone as from the species of poetry and measure, and the modulations and musical variations, annexed to them, which distinguish them as essentially as the difference of the proportions and ornaments denote the various orders of architecture.

The voice may pass from one mode or genus to another; but as it is impossible to make these transitions on instruments bored or strung only for certain genera or modes, musicians have recourse to two methods. Sometimes they have several citharas or

[b] Aristox. ap. Euclid. p. 19. Aristid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 2.

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flutes at hand, in order to substitute one immediately for the other.[c] But more frequently they stretch all the strings requisite for the various genera and modes* upon one lyre.[d] Not long since a musician fixed on the three faces of a moveable tripod three lyres, one strung for the Dorian, another for the Phrygian, and the third for the Lydian mode. On the slightest touch the tripod turned upon its axis, and enabled the performer to avail himself of the three modes, with the utmost facility, and without interruption. This instrument, which was much admired, sunk into oblivion after the death of the inventor.[e]

The tetrachords are distinguished by names relative to their position in the musical scale; and the strings by names relative to their position in each tetrachord. The gravest of all, the *B*, is called the *hypate*, or principal one; that which follows in ascending, the *parhypate*, or that next to the principal one.

I must interrupt you, said I, to ask whether you have no shorter expressions for singing an air without words. Four vowels, answered he, the *e* short, *a*, *e* long, and *o* long, preceded by the consonant *t*, express the four sounds of each tetrachord,[f] except when the first of these monosyllables is retrenched on meeting with a sound common to two tetrachords. I will

[c] Aristid. Quintil. de Mus. lib. 2. p. 91. * Plato says, that by banishing the greater part of the modes, the lyre will have fewer strings. The strings then were multiplied according to the number of the modes. [d] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. p. 399. [e] Athen. lib. 14. p. 637. [f] Aristid. Quintil. lib. 2. p. 94.

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explain myself. If I wish to sol fa the series of sounds given by the two first tetrachords, *B, C, D, E, F, G, A,* I shall say, *te, ta, tee, to, ta, tee, to,* and so on.

I have sometimes, said I, seen written music, but could never make out any thing but letters horizontally traced on the same line, corresponding with the syllables of the words standing below, some whole or mutilated, and others placed in different directions. Notes, replied he, were absolutely necessary for us, and we have chosen letters, a great number of which are requisite on account of the diversity of modes: to these letters we have given different positions and forms.—This manner of notation is simple but defective. Attention has not been paid to appropriate a letter to each sound of the voice, and each string of the lyre. Hence it happens that the same character, being common to strings belonging to different tetrachords, can never specify their various degrees of elevation, and that the notes of the diatonic genus are the same with those of the chromatic and enharmonic.[g] More will, no doubt, one day be added; but so great a number will be then necessary,[h] as to be a burthen, it may be, to the memory of beginners.*

Philotimus, as he said this, traced out on his tablets an air which I knew by rote. After examining it, I observed to him that these signs might indeed suffice to guide my voice in expressing the

[g] Aristot. lib. 2. p. 40. [h] Alyp. Introd. p. 3. Gaudent. p. 25. Bacch. p. 3. Aristid. Quintil. p. 26. * See Note III. at the end of the volume.

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sounds, but not to regulate the time it might employ in their expression. That, said he, is determined by the long and short syllables which compose the words, and by the rhythm which constitutes one of the most essential parts of music and poetry.

Rhythm is in general a successive motion, subject to certain proportions.[1] We may perceive it in the flight of a bird, in the pulsations of the arteries, in the steps of a dancer, in the periods of a discourse. In poetry it is the relative duration of the moments employed in pronouncing the syllables of a verse, and in music the relative duration of the sounds which enter into the composition of an air.

In the origin of music, its rhythm was exactly formed on the model of that of poetry. You know that in our language every syllable is short or long. One instant is necessary to pronounce a short syllable, two to articulate a long one. From the union of several long and short syllables the foot is formed; and from the union of feet the measure of the verse. Each foot has a movement, a rhythm, divided into two times, one for the sinking of the hand or other instrument that by an equable motion denotes the time, and the other for its rising.

Homer, and the poets of his time, commonly employed the heroic verse, consisting of six feet, each of them containing two long syllables, or a long one followed by two short ones. Thus, four syllabic

[1] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 152. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 664, 665.

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instants constitute the duration of a foot, and four and twenty of these instants form a verse.

It was then discovered that the measure of this verse was regulated by too uniform a movement; that it excluded several sonorous and expressive words, from the impossibility of subjecting them to its rhythm, and that in order to introduce others it was necessary to make them rest upon an adjoining word. Attempts were consequently made to introduce some new rhythms into poetry.[k] The number of these has been since considerably increased by Archilochus, Alcæus, Sappho, and other poets. They are now classed under three principal species.

In the first, the rising of the hand in marking the time is equal to the sinking; it is the measure of two equal times. In the second, the duration of the rising is double that of the sinking, and is the measure of two unequal, or of three equal times. In the third, the rising is to the sinking as 3 to 2; that is to say, supposing the notes equal, there must be 3 for one time, and 2 for the other. There is a fourth species, in which the proportion of time is as 3 to 4, but that is seldom used.

Besides this variety in the species, a still greater difference occurs from the number of syllables appropriated to each measure of a rhythm. Thus in the first species, the two equal divisions of the time of each foot may be each composed of a syllabic instant, or of a short syllable; but they may likewise consist

[k] Aristot. de Poet. t. ii. p. 654.

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of two, four, six, and even eight syllabic instants, which sometimes gives for the whole measure a combination of long and short syllables, equivalent to sixteen syllabic instants. In the second species this combination may be formed of eighteen of these instants; and in the third, one of the times may contain from three to fifteen short ones, and the other from one to ten short ones, or other equivalents; so that the whole measure, comprising twenty-five syllabic instants, exceeds by one of these instants the extent of the epic verse, and may contain as many as eighteen long or short syllables.

If to the variety which this more or less rapid transition of syllabic instants introduces into the rhythm, you add that which arises from the intermingling of the different rhythms, as well as that dictated by the taste of the musician, when, according to the character of the passions which it is his object to express, he accelerates or retards the measure, yet without altering the proportions, you will conclude that our ear must in a concert be perpetually acted on by sudden movements, which at once excite its attention and astonishment.

The rhythm is marked by lines placed at the top of a piece of music, and the coryphæus signifies it to the dancers and musicians attentive to his gestures, from the most elevated part of the orchestra.[1] I have observed, said I, that the leaders of choruses beat time sometimes with the hand, and sometimes with

[1] Aristot. Probl. t. ii. p. 770.

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the foot.[m] I have even seen some of them with sandals armed with iron, and must own that these noisy percussions interrupted my attention and my pleasure. Philotimus smiled and continued.

Plato compares poetry without music to a face deprived of its beauty by having lost the bloom of youth.[n] I should compare music without rhythm to regular features destitute of feeling and expression. By the aid of rhythm it is that music excites in us the emotions we experience. In this part of his art the musician, as I may say, has only the merit of choice, for all rhythms possess distinct and inherent properties. Let the trumpet sound with redoubled blasts a lively impetuous rhythm, you will imagine you hear the shouts of the combatants and the victors, and be reminded of our martial songs and warlike dances. Let several voices transmit to your ear a succession of sounds in a slow and pleasing progression, and you will be soothed in meditation: if their songs contain the praises of the gods, you will feel yourself disposed to the awe and veneration inspired by their presence; and this is the effect produced by the rhythm of the hymns and dances at our religious ceremonies.

The character of the rhythm is so determinate, that the transposition of a syllable suffices to change it. We often admit into versification two feet, the iambic and the trochaic, both composed of a long

[m] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 160. [n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 600.

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and short syllable, with this difference, that the iambic begins with a short, and the trochaic with a long one. The latter is adapted to the ponderousness of a rustic dance, the other to the vivacity of an animated dialogue.[o] As the iambic seems to redouble, and the trochaic to lose its ardour at every step, satiric authors attack their enemies with the former, whilst dramatic writers often employ the latter in their choruses of aged men on the stage.[p]

There is not a movement in nature, or in our passions, but what meets, in the various species of rhythms, with other movements which correspond with it, and become its image.[q] These affinities are so immutable, that an air loses all its beauty when its time is imperfectly observed, and the mind is disappointed at not receiving the periodical succession of the sensations it expects at stated intervals. Accordingly the directors of our theatres and festivals are indefatigable in exercising the performers to whom they confide their fame. I am persuaded even that music is in a great measure indebted for its success to the beauty of execution, and especially to the scrupulous attention with which the choruses[r] observe the time that is given them.

But, added Philotimus, it is time to conclude this conversation: we will resume it to-morrow if you think proper; I will call upon you before I wait on Apollodorus.

[o] Aristot. de Poet. c. 4. Id. de Rhetor. lib. 3. c. 8. [p] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 203. Schol. ibid. [q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 455. [r] Aristot. Probl. 22. p. 765.

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SECOND CONVERSATION.

On the Moral Part of Music.

The next morning I rose at the hour when the inhabitants of the country bring their provision to the market, and the citizens begin to disperse themselves tumultuously in the streets.[s] The sky was calm and serene, a delicious coolness penetrated my ravished senses: the east sparkled with fire, and the whole earth appeared to pant after the presence of that luminary by which it seems to be daily renovated. Enchanted with this spectacle, I did not perceive the arrival of Philotimus. I have surprised you, said he, in a sort of ecstasy. I have never ceased to experience it, answered I, since my arrival in Greece: the extreme purity of the air we breathe, and the lively colours which adorn every object I behold, seem to expand my soul and open it to new sensations. This led us to a conversation on the influence of climate.[t] Philotimus attributed to this cause the astonishing sensibility of the Greeks; a sensibility, said he, which is an inexhaustible source of pleasure and of error, and seems to increase among that people from day to day. I thought, on the contrary, replied I, that it was beginning to diminish. If I am mistaken, tell me then why music no longer effects the same prodigies which were heretofore attributed to it.

Because, answered he, it formerly was of a ruder

[s] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 278. [t] Hippocr. de Acr. p. 55, &c. Plut. in Tim. t. iii. p. 24.

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nature, and nations were then in their infancy. Should a voice, accompanied by some instrument, address itself even in a very simple melody, subject however to certain rules, to men who could only testify their pleasure by tumultuous exclamations, you would soon see them transported with delight, and express their admiration by the most violent hyperboles. This is what the Greeks experienced before the Trojan war. Amphion animated by his songs the workmen who built the fortress of Thebes (as has been since done during the rebuilding of the walls of Messina);[u] and fame reported that the walls of Thebes sprang up at the sound of his lyre. Orpheus drew from his a small number of pleasing sounds, and it was said that tigers laid aside their ferocity, and crouched at his feet.

I shall say nothing of those remote ages, replied I: but have we not heard that the Lacedæmonians, when divided among themselves, were suddenly reconciled by the harmonious modulations of Terpander;[x] that the Athenians were incited by the songs of Solon to invade and recover the isle of Salamis, in defiance of a decree which condemned the orator to death who should dare even to propose the conquest of that island;[y] that the manners of the Arcadians were civilized by music;[z] and numberless other stories of the same kind which cannot have escaped your inquiries?

[u] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 27. Diod. Sic. Fragm. t. ii. p. 639. [x] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1146. [y] Plut. in Solon. t. i. p. 82. [z] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Athen. lib. 14. p. 626.

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I am sufficiently acquainted with them, said he, to assure you that the marvellous disappears when we consider them properly.[a] Terpander and Solon owed their successes to poetry rather than to music, and perhaps still less to poetry than to peculiar circumstances. The Lacedæmonians must have begun to be weary of their divisions, when they consented to listen to Terpander. As for the revocation of the decree obtained by Solon, that can never astonish any man acquainted with Athenian levity.

The instance of the Arcadians is more striking. That people had contracted, in a rigorous climate and amidst severe labours, a ferocity that rendered them wretched. Their first legislators perceived the impression produced on their minds by music, and deemed them capable of happiness, since they were possessed of sensibility. Their children were taught to celebrate the gods and heroes of the country. Festivals, public sacrifices, solemn processions, and dances of boys and girls, were instituted; and these institutions, which still subsist, insensibly connected together this rude people. They became mild, humane, beneficent. But what a variety of causes contributed to this revolution! Poetry, song, dance, assemblies, festivals, and games, all of which, by the attraction of pleasure, were calculated to inspire them with a taste for the arts, and the spirit of social life.

Such were nearly the effects to be expected from music while in strict union with poetry; and grave and decent as that art, it was employed only to pre-

[a] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. t. v. p. 133.

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serve integrity of manners. But since it has made so rapid a progress, it has forfeited the noble privilege of instructing men, and rendering them better. It is not the first time, said I, that I have heard these complaints, but I have more frequently seen them treated as chimerical. Some sigh over the corruption of music, others rejoice in its perfection. You have still some partizans of the ancient, but a greater number of the modern music. Legislators formerly considered it as an essential branch of education;[b] at present, philosophers hardly look upon it in any other light than an innocent amusement.[c] How happens it that an art which has such influence on our minds, should be less useful as it becomes more pleasing?

You will comprehend that, perhaps, answered he, if you compare the ancient music with that which has been introduced almost in our days. Simple in its origin, afterwards more rich and varied, it successively animated the verses of Hesiod, Homer, Archilochus, Terpander, Simonides, and Pindar. Inseparable as it was from poetry, it borrowed all its charms, or rather embellished it with its own: for all its ambition was to lend new graces to its companion.

There is but one expression which can render an image or a sentiment in all its force. This expression excites emotions in us the more lively as it alone compels our hearts to listen to the voice of nature. Whence is it that the wretched so easily discover the secret of moving our compassion and exciting the

[b] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104. [c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 3. t. ii. p. 454.

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tenderest feelings in our souls, but because their accents and their wailings form the appropriate language of affliction?—In vocal music, simple expression is the kind of intonation suited to every word and verse.[d] Now, the ancient poets, who were at once musicians, philosophers, and legislators, obliged to distribute in their verses the species of tune of which those verses were capable, never lost sight of this principle. Words, melody, rhythm, the three powerful agents employed by music in imitation,[e] confided to the same hand, so directed their efforts, that all equally concurred in producing unity of expression.

They were early acquainted with the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera; and to each genus assigned the species of poetry the best adapted to it.[f] They employed our three principal modes, and applied them in preference to the three kinds of subjects they were almost constantly obliged to treat. Was a warlike nation to be animated to combat, or entertained with the recital of its exploits, the Doric harmony lent them its force and majesty.[g] Was it necessary to lay before them great examples of calamity and suffering, in order to instruct them in the science of misfortune, elegies and plaintive songs borrowed the piercing and pathetic tones of Lydian harmony.[h] To inspire them with awe and gratitude towards the gods,

[d] Tartin. Tratt. di Mus. p. 141. [e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 398. Aristot. de Poet. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 652. Aristid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 6. [f] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1142. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 372. [g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. page 399. Plut. ibid. p. 1136 et 1137. [h] Plut. ibid. p. 1136.

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the Phrygian notes* were appropriated to the sacred hymns.[i]

The greater part of those hymns called *Nomi*, that is to say, laws or models,[k] were generally divided into several parts, but containing only one action. As they were meant more especially to mark the immutable character of the particular deity to whom the homage was addressed, they were made subject to rules, from which they scarcely ever departed.[l]

The air, rigorously subservient to the words, was accompanied and sustained by the kind of instrument best calculated to express them. This instrument was sounded in unison with the voice;[m] and when dancing accompanied the song, that also faithfully painted to the eye the sentiment or image transmitted by the latter to the ear.

The lyre expressed but a small number of sounds, and singing afforded but very little variety. The simplicity of the means employed by music secured the triumph of poetry; and poetry, more philosophical and more instructive than history, inasmuch as it selects sublimer models,[n] delineated great characters, and held out illustrious lessons of courage, prudence, and honour. Philotimus here interrupted his discourse, to let me hear some passages of this ancient music, and especially some airs of a poet named Olympus, who lived about nine centuries ago. They turn only

* See note IV. at the end of the volume. [i] Plat. de Rep. ibid. Chonic. Par. [k] Poll. lib. 4. c. 9. § 66. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 218. [l] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1133. Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. [m] Plut. ibid. p. 1141. [n] Aristot. de Poet. c. 9. Batt. ibid. p. 248.

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on a small number of chords,[o] added he, yet in some respects our modern composers must despair to equal them.*

The art continued to make a progress; it acquired additional modes and rhythms, and the lyre was enriched with new strings. But the poets long rejected these novelties, or at least used them with moderation, always attached to their ancient principles, and extremely attentive, above all, not to deviate from that decency and dignity[p] which characterized the ancient music.

Of these two qualities, so essential to the fine arts when their effects are not limited to the pleasures of the senses, the first is indispensable to order, the second to beauty. It is decency or fitness which establishes a just proportion between the style and the subject; which gives its true colour, tone, and movement, to each object, each idea, and each passion,[q] which consequently rejects all unreasonable beauties as defects; and is careful to prevent ornaments fortuitously scattered from injuring the main interest. As dignity is inseparable from elevation of sentiment and ideas, the poet who bears the impression of it in his soul does not give way to servile imitations.[r] His conceptions are lofty, and his language that of a mediator, whose office it is to converse with the gods and to instruct men.[s]

[o] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1137. * See note V. at the end of the volume. [p] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140. Athen. lib. 14. p. 631. [q] Dionys. Halic. de Struct. Orat. sect. 20. [r] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 395, &c. [s] Plat. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1140.

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Such was the double function of which the first poets were so zealous to acquit themselves as they ought. Their hymns inspired piety, their poems the thirst of glory, their elegies patience and firmness under misfortune. Examples as well as precepts were easily imprinted on the memory by simple airs of a noble and expressive character; and the youth, early accustomed to repeat them, imbibed with pleasure the love of every duty, and the idea of true beauty.

It seems to me, however, said I to Philotimus, that so austere a music was but ill calculated to excite the passions. Do you think then, replied he, smiling, that the passions of the Greeks were not of themselves sufficiently active? They were naturally high-spirited and of delicate sensibility: by giving them too strong emotions, there was a risk of impelling their vices and virtues to excess. It was accordingly one of the profound views of their legislators to make music serve as an instrument to moderate their ardour in the pursuit of pleasure or in the heat of victory. Why have they admitted, from the remotest ages, the practice of singing the gods and heroes at banquets, but for the purpose of preventing the excess of wine,[1] the more fatal in those days, as men were more prone to violence? Why do the Lacedæmonian generals distribute among their troops a certain number of flute-players, and make them march against the enemy to the sound of that instrument, rather than to the noisy clangor of the trumpet? Is it not to stay the im-

[1] Plut. de Mus. p. 1146. Athen. lib. 14. p. 627.

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petuous courage of the Spartan youth, and oblige them to keep their ranks ?[a]

Be not astonished, therefore, that even before the birth of philosophy the most civilized states should have watched with so much care to prevent the introduction of innovations into their pure and simple music ;[x] and that in later times the wisest men, convinced of the necessity of calming rather than of exciting our passions, should have acknowledged that music, under the guidance of philosophy, is one of the sublimest gifts of Heaven, and one of the noblest inventions of man.[y]

At present it is subservient only to our pleasures. You must have perceived that towards the end of its reign it was verging towards corruption, from acquiring new embellishments. Polymnestes, by bracing or letting down at pleasure the strings of the lyre, had introduced notes before unknown.[z] Some musicians employed themselves in composing for the flute airs unaccompanied with words ;[a] soon after contests were seen at the Pythian games, in which nothing but the sound of instruments was heard :[b] at length the poets, and above all the authors of that bold and turbulent poetry known by the name of dithyrambics, tortured

[a] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 70. Aul. Gel. lib. 1. c. 11. Aristot. ap. eund. ibid. Plut. de Irâ, tom. ii. p. 458. Polyb. lib. 4. p. 289. Athen. lib. 12. p. 517. Id. lib. 14. p. 627. [x] Plut. de Mus. p. 1146. [y] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 104. Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 410. Diotogen. ap. Stob. p. 251. [z] Plut. de Mus. p. 1141. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 318. [a] Plut. ibid. p. 1134 et 1141. [b] Pausan. lib. 10. p. 813. Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxxii. p. 444.

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at once language, melody, and rhythm, to adapt them to their ridiculous enthusiasm.[c] The ancient taste, nevertheless, still predominated. Pindar, Pratinas, Lamprus, and other celebrated Lyric poets, upheld it in its decline.[d] The former flourished at the time of the expedition of Xerxes, about one hundred and twenty years ago. He lived long enough to witness the revolution prepared by the innovations of his predecessors, and favoured by the spirit of independence we had acquired by our victories over the Persians. But what most accelerated this revolution, was the ungovernable passion that suddenly possessed the nation for instrumental music and dithyrambic poetry. The former taught us to dispense with words; the latter to overlay them with a load of foreign ornaments.

Music, till then subjected to poetry,[e] shook off the yoke with the audacity of a revolted slave. Musicians no longer attempted to signalize themselves but by supposed improvements. The more they multiplied the resources of the art, the more did they deviate from nature.[f] The lyre and cithara produced a greater variety of sounds. The properties of genera, modes, voices, and instruments, were confounded. Airs formerly appropriated to different species of poetry were indiscriminately applied to each in particular.[g] Chords before unknown, unusual modulations, and vocal inflections, often devoid of harmony, were introduced

[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 332. [d] Plut. ibid. p. 1143. [e] Prat. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 617. [f] Tartin. Tratt. di Mus. p. 148. [g] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700.

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every day.[h] The fundamental and essential law of rhythm was openly violated, and the same syllable assigned to several sounds[i]—an extravagance which should be as offensive in music as it certainly would be in declamation.

At the sight of so many rapid changes, Anaxilas said, not long ago, in one of his comedies, that music, like Lybia, produced every year some new monster.[k]

The principal authors of these innovations were of the last century, or are still living; as if it were the fate of music to lose its influence over manners at the very period in which we talk the most of philosophy and morals. Many of them possessed great understanding and eminent abilities.[l] I shall name Melanippides, Cinesias, Phrynis,[m] Polyidus,[n] so celebrated for his tragedy of Iphigenia, and Timotheus of Miletus, who practised every species of poetry, and still enjoys his glory in a very advanced age. He, above all, has done the most injury to the ancient music. At first he was checked by the fear of appearing an innovator.[o] He began by intermingling ancient airs in his early compositions, to elude the vigilance of the magistrates, and not too precipitately to shock the reigning taste; but soon emboldened by success, he entirely threw off all restraint.

Besides the licentiousness I have mentioned, musicians, not yet satisfied with novelties, are endeavour-

[h] Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141. [i] Aristoph. in Ran. v. 1349, 1390. Schol. ibid. [k] Athen. lib. 14. p. 623. [l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 700. [m] Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141. [n] Aristot. de Poet. c. 16. t. ii. p. 664. [o] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1132.

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ing to draw new sounds from the tetrachord. Some labour to introduce a succession of quarter tones in airs;[p] they weary the strings, redouble the exertions of their bow, and apply the ear in order to surprise some passing shade of sound which they consider as the smallest commensurate interval.[q] The same experiment confirms others in a diametrically opposite opinion. Great difference of opinion prevails respecting the nature of sound,[r] the consonances to be made use of,[s] the forms introduced into music, and the talents and works of the leaders of each party. Epigonus, Erastocles,[t] Pythagoras of Zacynthus, Agenor of Mytilene, Antigenides, Dorion, and Timotheus,[u] have pupils who are daily engaged in fierce contention, and are agreed only in the sovereign contempt they entertain for ancient music, which they treat as superannuated.[x]

Do you know who have most contributed to inspire us with this contempt? The Iönians,[y] that people who were unable to defend their liberty against the Persians, and who, in a fertile country and under the finest sky in the world,[z] console themselves for the loss of freedom in the bosom of the arts and luxury. Their light and brilliant music, deckedout with all the graces, partakes at the same time of the congenial softness peculiar to that happy climate.[a] We had some dif-

[p] Aristox. Harm. Elem. lib. 2. p. 53. [q] Plat. de Rep. lib. 7. t. ii. page 531. [r] Aristox. lib. 1. p. 3. [s] Id. lib. 2. p. 36. [t] Id. lib. 1. p. 5. [u] Plut. de Mus. p. 1138, &c. [x] Id. ibid. p. 1135. [y] Aristid. Quintil. lib. 1. p. 37. [z] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 142. [a] Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 41. Lucian. Harm. t. i. p. 851. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 208.

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ficulty to accustom ourselves to its accents. Timotheus, one of those Iönians I have mentioned, was at first hissed on our stage; but Euripides, who knew the genius of his nation, foretold that he would soon become the favourite of the public; and the event has justified his prediction.[b] Elated with this success, he visited the Lacedæmonians with his eleven-stringed cithara and his effeminate airs. They had already twice repressed the audacity of modern musicians:[c] nay even at this day in the pieces offered for the competition, they require the modulation to be executed on a seven-stringed instrument, and to turn only on one or two modes. What then was their surprise at the chords of Timotheus! What was his astonishment at reading a decree issued by the kings and ephori! He was accused of having wounded the majesty of the ancient music, and endeavoured to corrupt the Spartan youth by the indecency, the variety, and effeminacy of his performances. He was ordered to retrench four strings from his lyre, with this observation; that such an example ought for ever to put an end to novelties which encroach on severity of manners.[e] It deserves to be remarked that this decree passed about the time that the Lacedæmonians gained that celebrated victory at Ægos-Potamos, which rendered them masters of Athens.

Among us, artisans and hirelings decide on the

[b] Plut. in Seni, &c. t. ii. p. 795. [c] Athen. p. 628. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 799. Id. in Lacon. Instit. p. 238. [d] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1142. [e] Boëth. de Mus. lib. 1. c. 1. Not. Bulliald. in Theon. Smyrn. p. 295.

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fate of music; they fill the theatre, attend at musical competitions, and constitute themselves sovereign judges of taste. These men requiring shocks rather than emotions, the bolder, the more highly coloured, and more violent the music is, the more does it excite their transports.[f] In vain have philosophers exclaimed,[g]* that to adopt such innovations was to shake the foundations of the state: in vain have dramatic writers aimed a thousand satirical strokes against those who strove to introduce them.[h] As they cannot issue decrees in favour of the ancient music, the charms of its enemy have ultimately carried all before them. The fate of both has been similar to that of virtue and voluptuousness whenever they become the object of a struggle.

Tell me frankly, said I to Philotimus, whether you have not occasionally been led away by the general seduction? Very often, replied he: I allow that modern music is superior to the ancient for its richness and its beauties; but I maintain that it has no moral object. In the productions of the ancients I esteem the poet who makes me love my duty. I admire in modern compositions the musician who gives me pleasure. And do you not think, said I with warmth, that we should judge of music by the pleasure it affords us?[i]

No, doubtless, replied he, if that pleasure be in-

[f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. p. 458 et 459. [g] Plat. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 424. * See note VI. at the end of the volume. [h] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 965; in Ran. v. 1339. Schol. ibid. Prat. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 617. Pherecr. ap. Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1141. [i] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 668.

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jurious, and takes place of others less lively, but of more utility. You are young, and stand in need of strong and frequent emotions;[k] yet as you would blush to resign yourself to them if not consistent with good order, it is evident that you ought to submit both your pleasures and pains to the examination of reason, before you erect them into the standard of your judgment and conduct.

I shall take upon me to lay down the following principle. An object is only worthy of our regard when, besides the beauties that embellish it in our eyes, it contains in itself some real utility and goodness. Thus we see that Nature, who wishes to conduct us to her ends by the allurement of pleasure, and who never limited the sublimity of her views to merely procuring us agreeable sensations, has infused into the food necessary for our nourishment a flavour that attracts us, and a virtue requisite to the conservation of our species. Here pleasure is a first effect, and becomes a means of connecting the cause to a second effect more noble than the former. It may so happen that the nutriment being equally salutary, and the pleasure equally lively, the ultimate effect may still be hurtful: in fine, if certain aliments, calculated to please the palate, produced neither good nor evil, the pleasure would be transient and unproductive. Hence it results, that it is less by the first effect than by the second, that we should decide whether our pleasures be useful, dangerous, or indifferent.

Let us apply this principle. Imitation, which is the

[k] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 664. [l] Id. ibid. p. 667.

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object of the arts, affects us variously: such is its first effect. There sometimes exists a second more essential, and frequently unknown to the spectator, and even to the artist; it modifies the soul,[m] so as insensibly to bend it to habits which beautify or deform it. If you have never reflected on the prodigious power of imitation, consider with what energy two of our senses, sight and hearing, transmit into our souls the impressions they receive; with what facility a child surrounded by slaves copies their discourse and gestures, and appropriates to itself their inclinations and vulgarity.[n]

Though painting is far from possessing the same power as reality, it is not the less true that its representations are scenes at which I am present, and its images examples presented to my view. Spectators in general seek only for fidelity of imitation, and the charm of a momentary sensation in a picture; but philosophers often discover in it, through the enchantment of the art, the seeds of a latent poison. According to them, it should seem as if our virtues were either so pure or feeble, that the slightest breath of contagion is sufficient to tarnish or destroy them. Thus whilst they permit young men to contemplate at leisure the pictures of Dionysius, they exhort them not to dwell on the paintings of Pauson, but frequently to recur to those of Polygnotus.[o] The first has painted men such as we behold them; his is

[m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 455. [n] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 305. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 5. p. 455. Id. de Poet. c. 2. t. ii. p. 653.

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a faithful imitation pleasing to the eye, without danger as without utility to manners. The second, by bestowing on his personages ignoble characters and functions, has degraded man; he has painted him more diminutive than he is; his figures deprive heroism of its lustre, and virtue of its dignity. Polygnotus, by representing men larger and more virtuous than nature, elevates our thoughts and sentiments towards sublime models, and leaves the soul deeply impressed with the idea of moral beauty, and the love of propriety and order.

The impressions of music are more immediate, more profound, and more durable than those of paintings;[p] but its imitations, rarely in conformity with our real wants, have almost ceased to be instructive: and, in fact, what edification do I receive from that flute-player who imitates on the stage the song of the nightingale,[q] and at our games the hissing of the serpent;[r] or when, to show his execution, he shocks my ear with a multitude of sounds rapidly accumulated on each other?[s] I have heard Plato ask what this notice signified; and whilst the spectators in general were applauding with transport the bold strokes of the musician,[t] charge him with ignorance and ostentation; with the former, as having no idea of real beauty; and with the latter, as placing his whole ambition in the vain glory of surmounting a difficulty.*

[p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 455. [q] Aristoph. in Av. v. 223. [r] Strab. lib. 9. p. 421. [s] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. part. 2. p. 669. [t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 6. t. ii. p. 457. * See note VII. at the end of the volume.

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Besides, what effect can be produced by words, which drawling after the air, broken in their texture, and crossed in their progression, can never claim any portion of that attention which the inflexions and beauties of the voice fix solely on the melody? I allude more especially to the music we hear in the theatre,[w] and at our games; for it still retains its ancient character in many of our religious ceremonies.

At this moment our ears were struck with the sound of melodious songs. This happened to be the day on which a festival was celebrated in honour of Theseus.[x] Choruses consisting of the most distinguished youth of Athens were repairing to the temple of that hero. They sang his victory over the minotaur, his arrival in Athens, and the return of the young Athenians whom he had freed from bondage. After listening to them attentively, I said to Philotimus; I know not whether most to admire the poetry, the air, the precision of the rhythm, the merits of the subject, or the delightful harmony of the voices.[y] But it seems as if my soul were filled and elevated by this music. That, replied Philotimus, with animation, is because, instead of trifling to excite our petty passions, it penetrates to the very bottom of our hearts, there awakening sentiments the most honourable to man, and the most useful to society, such as courage, gratitude, and devotion to our country; because, from its happy concurrence with poetry, rhythm, and other

[w] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1136. [x] Id. in Thes. t. i. p. 17.
[y] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 765.

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causes you have been mentioning, it receives an awful character of grandeur and nobility, a character which never fails to produce its effect, but operates more powerfully on those so constituted as to feel it, by inspiring them with a higher opinion of themselves. And this it is which justifies the doctrine of Plato. He would wish that the arts, games, spectacles, and all external objects, if possible, should furnish us with images calculated incessantly to fix our attention on real beauty. The habit of contemplating it would thus become to us a kind of instinct, and our souls would be as it were constrained to act agreeably to the order and harmony which shine forth in this divine model.[z]

Alas! how far are our artists from attaining to the sublimity of these ideas! Not satisfied with annihilating the peculiar properties of the different parts of music, they violate even the most ordinary rules of fitness. Already does dancing, which ought to be grave and decent, become tumultuous and violent when subjected to their whims; already do we see fragments of poetry and music, foreign to the pieces, introduced between the acts of our tragedies, and the choruses no longer are connected with the action.[a]

I do not pretend to say that such deviations from the ancient practice are the immediate cause of the corruption of our manners; but they certainly contribute to maintain and fortify it. They who consider them as indifferent are not aware that regularity is

[z] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 401. [a] Aristot. de Poet. c. 18. t. ii. p. 666.

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upheld as much by rites and fashions as by principles; that manners have their forms as well as laws; and that the contempt of forms gradually destroys all the bonds which unite men together in society.

Modern music may be reproached likewise with that effeminate softness, those enchanting sounds which charm the multitude, and which, by having no determinate object of expression, are always interpreted in favour of the ruling passion. Their sole effect is more and more to enervate people whose minds, destitute of vigour and of character, are distinguished only by different degrees of pusillanimity.

But, said I to Philotimus, since ancient music possesses such eminent advantages, and the modern such great beauties, why have there been no attempts to reconcile them?—I know a musician named Telesias, answered he, who did form such a project a few years ago.[b] In his youth he had been trained up in an admiration of the rigid beauties of Pindar and other lyric poets. Seduced afterwards by the productions of Philoxenus, Timotheus, and the modern poets, he attempted to combine these different manners; but notwithstanding all his efforts, he continually fell back into that of his first masters, reaping no other fruit for all his labours than the mortification of displeasing both parties.

No, music never will recover from the degradation into which it has fallen, without a total change in our ideas, and a restoration of our virtues. Now it is

[b] Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1142.

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more difficult to reform than to civilize a nation. We have no longer any morals, added he, but we shall have pleasures. The ancient music suited the Athenians, conquerors of Marathon; the modern is well adapted to Athenians vanquished at Ægos-Potamos.

I have only one more question to ask you, said I: Why do you instruct your pupil in so pernicious an art? what purpose can it answer? What purpose! replied he, laughing; the purpose of a plaything for children of all ages, which keeps them from breaking the furniture of the house.[c] It employs those whose idleness might be dangerous to such a goverment as ours, and it amuses others who, formidable only from the listlessness to which they are perpetually a prey, are at a loss how to employ their time.

Lysis shall learn music, because, destined as he is to fill the first offices of the republic, he should enable himself to give an opinion on the pieces presented for the prize at the theatre, or musical competitions. He shall be versed in every species of harmony, but esteem such only as may have an influence on his manners.[d] For, notwithstanding its depravation, music is still capable of giving us some useful lessons.[e] Those laboured performances, those songs, the merit of which consists only in difficulty of execution, and which formerly were mere matter of admiration at our exhibitions, but now form the con-

[c] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 6. t. ii. p. 456. [d] Id. ib. c. 7. t. ii. p. 458. [e] Id. ib. c. 6. t. ii. p. 456.

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stant exercise of our children,[f] shall never fatigue my pupil. I will put some instruments into his his hands, on condition of his never becoming such a proficient as his masters. I wish his leisure moments, if he has any, to be agreeably filled up by a select music, which may prove a recreation from his labours, instead of increasing them, and moderate his passions, should he be possessed of too much sensibility.[g] I wish him, in a word, always to retain in mind this maxim: that music calls us to pleasure; philosophy to virtue; but that it is by pleasure and virtue conjointly that nature invites us to happiness.[h]

[f] Aristot. de Rep. p. 457. [g] Id. ib. lib. 8. c. 7. p. 458.
[h] Id. ibid. c. 5. t. ii. p. 454.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

Manners of the Athenians continued.

I HAVE already said* that at certain hours of the day the Athenians assemble in the forum, or the shops which surround it. I often went thither, either to hear the news, or to study the character of the people.

I one day met there one of the principal men of the city walking with hasty strides. His vanity could only be equalled by his hatred of the democracy; of all Homer's verses he had only retained this sentence: "Nothing is so dangerous as to have many chiefs."[i]

He had just received a slight affront: No, said he in a rage, either this man or I must quit the city, for it is impossible to remain in it any longer. If I take my place on any of the tribunals, I am harassed by the crowd of plaintiffs, or the clamours of the lawyers. At the general assembly, some low person, some dirty and ill-dressed fellow, has the insolence to seat himself beside me.[k] Our orators are sold to this people, who every day commit the business of the state to the management of persons whom I should be sorry to entrust with my private affairs.[l] But the

* See Chap. XX. of this work. [i] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 204.
[k] Theophr. Char. c. 26. [l] Isocr. de Pac. t. i. p. 388.

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other day, when a general was to be elected, I rose, recounted the posts I had filled in the army, and showed my wounds, yet the choice fell upon a man without either experience or abilities.[m] Theseus, by establishing equality, was the author of all these mischiefs. Homer had more reason when he said, Nothing is so dangerous as to have many chiefs. Pronouncing these words, he disdainfully pushed aside every body he found in his way, scarcely deigning to salute any one; and if he permitted any of his clients to accost him, it was only loudly to make a boast of the services he had rendered him.[n]

At this moment, one of his friends approaching him: Well, cried he, will the public still continue to say that I am surly, morose, and ill-tempered? I have just gained my cause, unanimously, it is true; but, would you believe it, my lawyer, in his pleadings, omitted the strongest arguments in my behalf? My wife yesterday brought me a son, and I am congratulated on the event, as if this increase of my family was not a real diminution of my estate. One of my friends, after the warmest solicitations, consents to let me have one of his slaves. I refer the purchase-money to himself. What do you think he does? He gives him to me at a price greatly below what I expected to pay. Undoubtedly this slave must have some hidden defect.[o] I know not what secret poison is perpetually mixing with my happiness.

I left this man to bewail his misfortunes, and

[m] Xen. Mem. lib. 3. p. 765. [n] Theophr. Charact. cap. 24.
[o] Id. ibid. c. 17.

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mixed with the different circles I saw around the place. They were composed of persons of all ages and conditions, and protected from the heat of the sun by awnings.

I sat down by a rich Athenian, called Philander. His parasite Crito was endeavouring to secure his favour by extravagant flattery, and to entertain him by censorious ridicule and slander. He imposed silence; he applauded with transport whenever Philander opened his lips, and applied the skirt of his robe to his mouth, as if to suppress his laughter at every insipid jest that escaped Philander. Only observe, said he to him, how all eyes are fixed on you. Yesterday in the portico I thought they never would have ended praising you; the question was, who was the most honest man in Athens? Though we were more than thirty in company, every voice declared loudly in your favour.[p] That man I see there, said Philander, clad in that elegant robe, and followed by three slaves, is, if I mistake not, Apollodorus, son of Pasion, the rich banker. The very same, replied the parasite. His ostentation is insufferable; he forgets that his father was a slave.[q] And who is that other, resumed Philander, who is walking beside him, and who holds his head so high? His father first went by the name of Sosio, said Crito, and, as he had been in the army, assumed that of Sosistratus.[r]* He was afterwards enrolled in the register of citizens. His

[p] Theophr. Charact. c. 2. [q] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 965. [r] Theophr. ibid. c. 28. * Sosia is the name of a slave; Sosistratus that of a freeman. Στρατος (*Stratos*) signifies an army.

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mother is a Thracian, and no doubt of an illustrious origin; for the women who come from that remote country have as valid claims to birth as to facility of manners. The son is a knave; not quite so much so however as Hermogenes, Corax, and Thersites, who are talking together a few yards from us. The first is so great a miser that his wife can only get cold water to bathe in even in winter;[s] the second so capricious, as to assume twenty different characters in the same day; and the third so vain that he stands single in the praises he bestows on himself, and is without a rival in the love he has for his own person.

Whilst I was turning round to look on a party at dice, a man came up to me with an anxious air. Have you heard the news? said he. No, answered I. —What! do you know nothing of it? I am delighted to hear it. I have it from Nicerates, who is just arrived from Macedon. King Philip is beaten by the Illyrians; he is taken prisoner; he is dead.— Indeed! is it possible?—Nothing is more certain. I have this instant met two of our archons; I saw the utmost joy in their faces. But don't say a word of it to any creature; and, above all, take care not to name me as your author. Having said this, he immediately left me to communicate his secret to every person he met.[t]

That man passes his whole life in forging news, said a corpulent Athenian who was sitting by me. He attends to nothing but what does not concern

[s] Theophr. Charact. c. 28. [t] Id. ibid. c. 8.

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him. As for me, my domestic affairs find me sufficient employment. I have a wife whom I am very fond of; upon which he immediately gave me a long eulogium on his wife.[w] Yesterday I was not able to sup with her, having received an invitation from a friend; and he now launched out into a minute description of the entertainment. I got home, however, continued he, not dissatisfied; but I had a dream that gives me a good deal of uneasiness; and he then proceeded to tell me all his dream: he afterward observed that the city swarmed with foreigners; that the men of the present generation were not like those of former days; that provisions were very cheap; that we might hope for a good crop, if we had a few showers; and, after asking me what was the day of the month,[x] rose to go to supper with his wife.

Bless me! said an Athenian who came up at the moment, and whom I had long been looking for, how can you have the patience to listen to that tiresome mortal? Why did not you follow the example of Aristotle? A great talker had got hold of him, and after wearying him with strange stories: What! said he to him, are you not astonished? What astonishes me, answered Aristotle, is, that any man should use his ears to listen to you, when he can use his legs to escape from you?[y] I now told him that I had something to communicate to him, which I wished for an opportunity of explaining. But he interrupted me at every word. Yes, yes, I know not what you mean;

[w] Theophr. Charact. c. 3. [x] Id. ibid. c. 3. [y] Plat. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 503.

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I could give you a complete account of the whole affair; go on, don't omit a single circumstance; very well; now you have it; that is the very thing; you see how necessary it was to talk it over. At length I was obliged to tell him, that he broke in upon my narrative. I knew it, replied he; but I have a wonderful desire of talking. I am not like the man however, who has just quitted you. He speaks without reflection—a reproach, I think, which cannot be thrown on me; witness the speech I made lately at the assembly: you were not there; I'll tell you what it was. At these words I attempted to profit by the advice of Aristotle; but he still followed me, continually talking and declaiming.[z]

I pushed forward into the midst of a company assembled round a soothsayer, who was complaining of the incredulity of the Athenians. He exclaimed: When I talk to you of divine subjects, and unveil futurity to you in the general assembly, you laugh at me as if I were a madman, yet events have always justified my predictions. But you are envious of those who possess knowledge superior to your own.[a]

He was going to proceed, when we saw Diogenes appear, who had just arrived from Lacedæmon. Whence come you? said some person to him. From the apartment of the men to that of the women, answered he.[b]—Were there many people at the Olympic games? inquired another. A great number of spectators, but very few men.[c]—These answers

[z] Theophr. Charact. c. 7.
[a] Plat. in Eutyphr. t. i. p. 3.
[b] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 59.
[c] Id. ibid. § 60.

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were applauded, and drew together a crowd of Athenians, who endeavoured to provoke him to repartees. Why, said one, do you eat in the market? Because I am hungry in the market, replied he.[d]—Another put this question to him: How can I revenge myself of my enemy? By becoming more virtuous.[e]—Diogenes, said a third, the world fathers many ridiculous stories on you.—But I adopt none.[f]—A foreigner born at Myndus wished to know what he thought of that town. I advised the inhabitants, answered he, to shut their gates, that the city might not run out through them.[g]—It is to be observed, that this city, which is very small, has remarkably large gates. Crito, the parasite, now mounting on a chair, asked him why the public had given him the name of Dog. Because, answered he, I caress those who give me necessaries, bark at those who refuse me, and bite the mischievous.[h]—And what, resumed the parasite, is the most dangerous animal? Among wild animals, the slanderer; among tame ones, the flatterer.[i]

At these words every one burst into a laugh; the parasite went off, and the attacks continued with redoubled warmth.—Diogenes, what countryman are you? said some one. I am a citizen of the world, answered he.[k] No, no, replied another, he is of Sinope; the inhabitants condemned him to leave their city.—And I have condemned them to remain in it, replied he.[l] A handsome young man advancing,

[d] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 58. [e] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 21. [f] Diog. ibid. § 54. [g] Id. ibid. § 57. [h] Id. ibid. § 60. [i] Id. ibid. § 51. [k] Id. ibid. § 63. [l] Id. ibid. § 49.

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made use of an expression so indecent as to bring a blush into the cheeks of one of his friends of the same age; upon which Diogenes says to the latter: Courage, my boy; those are the colours of virtue.[m] And turning to the former: Are you not ashamed, said he, to draw a leaden blade from out an ivory sheath?[n] The young man, in a rage, gave him a blow on the ear.—Be it so, resumed he, without the smallest emotion; you teach me at least one thing, which is, that I want a helmet.[o]—What advantage, said some one to him immediately, have you derived from your philosophy? Why, don't you see? said he: To be prepared for every event.[p]

At this moment Diogenes, who would not stir from his place, received on his head some water which fell from the top of a house. Some of the company seeming to pity him, Plato, who was accidentally passing, said to them: If you wish your pity to be useful to him, appear not to see him.[q]

I one day found, in the Portico of Jupiter, some Athenians engaged in philosophical discussions. No, sorrowfully exclaimed an old disciple of Heraclitus, I can never contemplate nature without a secret horror. All living creatures are only in a state of war or ruin; the inhabitants of the air, the waters, and the earth, are endowed with force or cunning only for the purpose of mutual persecution and destruction; I myself murder and devour the animal which I have fed with

[m] Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. § 54. [n] Id. ibid. § 65. [o] Id. ibid. § 41. [p] Id. ibid. § 63. [q] Id. ibid. § 41.

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my own hands, until I shall be devoured in my turn by vile insects.

I fix my attention on more pleasing objects, replied a young follower of Democritus. The flow and ebb of generations afflict me no more than the periodical succession of the waves of the ocean, or of the leaves of trees.[r] What matters it that such and such individuals appear or disappear? The earth is a theatre, changing its scenery every moment. Is it not annually clothed with new flowers and new fruits? The atoms of which I am composed will one day reunite after their separation, and I shall revive in another form.[s]

Alas! said a third, the degree of love or hatred, of joy or grief, with which we are affected, has but too much influence on our judgments.[t] When sick, I see nothing in nature but a system of destruction; but when in health, I behold only a system of reproduction.

It is in reality both, observed a fourth: When the universe emerged from chaos, intelligent beings had reason to flatter themselves that the Supreme Wisdom would deign to unveil to them the motive of their existence; but this secret he reserved to himself alone, and, addressing himself to second causes, pronounced only these two words; Destroy; Reproduce:[u] words which have for ever fixed the destiny of the world.

[r] Mimner. ap. Stob. serm. 96. p. 528. Simonid. ap. eund. p. 530. [s] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 7. c. 55. t. i. p. 411. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1195. [t] Aristot. de Rhet. lib. 1. c. 2. tom. ii. p. 515. [u] Æsop. ap. Stob. serm. 103. p. 564.

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I know not, resumed the first, whether it be for their diversion, or with a serious design, that the gods have formed us;[x] but this I know, that it is the greatest of misfortunes to be born, and the greatest happiness to die.[y] Life, said Pindar, is but the dream of a shadow:[z] a sublime image, and which depicts with a single stroke all the inanity of man. Life, said Socrates, should only be meditation on death:[a] a singular paradox, to suppose that we are compelled to live only to learn to die.

Man is born, lives, and dies, in the same instant; and in that instant so fugitive, what a complication of sufferings! His entrance into life is proclaimed by cries and tears; in infancy and adolescence come masters to tyrannise over him, and duties which exhaust his strength;[b] next follows a terrific succession of arduous labours, overwhelming cares, bitter affliction, and conflicts of every kind; and all this is terminated by an old age which renders him an object of contempt, and a tomb that consigns him to oblivion.

You have but to study him. His virtues are only the barter for his vices: if he refrains from one, it is only to obey the other.[c] If he avails not himself of his experience, he is a child beginning every day to live: if he makes use of it, he is an old man who has lived only too long.

[x] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 644. [y] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 1289. Bacchyl. et alii ap. Stob. serm. 96. p. 530 et 531. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 48. t. ii. p. 273. [z] Pind. in Pythic. od. 8. v. 136. [a] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 64 et 67. Id. ap. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 686. [b] Sophocl. in Œdip. Colon. v. 1290. Axioch. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 366. Teles. ap. Stob. ap. 535. [c] Plat in Phædon. t. i. p. 69.

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He possesses two signal advantages over other animals,—foresight and hope. What has Nature done? She has cruelly empoisoned them with fear.

What a void in every thing he does! What varieties and incongruities in all his propensities and projects! I would ask you, What is man?

I will tell you, answered a giddy youth who entered at the moment. Then drawing from under his robe a little figure of wood or pasteboard, of which the limbs might be moved by certain strings that he stretched and relaxed at pleasure :[d] These threads, said he, are the passions, which hurry us sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other.[e] This is all I know of the matter; and having so said, he immediately walked away.

Our life, said a disciple of Plato, is at once a comedy and tragedy; in the former point of view it can have no other plot than our folly, nor in the latter any catastrophe but death; and as it partakes of the nature of both these dramas, it is interspersed with pleasures and with pains.[f]

The conversation was perpetually varying. One denied the existence of motion; another that of the objects by which we appear surrounded. Every thing external, said they, is only deceit and falsehood; every thing internal only error and illusion. Our senses, our passions, and reason, lead us astray; sciences, or rather idle opinions, force us from the

[d] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 48. Lib. de Mund. ap. Aristot. c. 6. t. i. p. 611. Lucian. de Deâ Syr. c. 16. t. iii. p. 463. Apul. de Mund. &c. [e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 644. [f] Plat. in Phileb. t. ii. p. 50.

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repose of ignorance to abandon us to all the torment of uncertainty; and the pleasures of the mind have contrasts a thousand times more painful than those of the senses.

I ventured to speak. Men, said I, are becoming more and more enlightened. May we not presume that, after exhausting all their errors, they will at length discover the secret of those mysteries which occasion them such anxiety?—And do you know what happens then? answered some one. When this secret is on the point of being discovered, nature is suddenly attacked with some dreadful disease.[g] A deluge or a conflagration destroys the nations, with all the monuments of their intelligence and vanity. These fearful calamities have often desolated our globe. The torch of science has been more than once extinguished and rekindled. At each revolution, a few individuals who have escaped by accident reunite the thread of generations; and behold a new race of wretches laboriously employed for a long series of ages in forming themselves into societies, making laws, inventing arts, and bringing their discoveries to perfection,[h] till a new catastrophe swallows them up likewise in the gulf of oblivion!

Unable any longer to sustain a conversation to me so extraordinary and novel, I precipitately left the portico, and without knowing whither I directed my steps, presently found myself on the banks of the Ilysus. My mind was violently agitated with the

[g] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 22. Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 548. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 453. Heraclit. ap. Clem. Alex. lib. 5. p. 711. Not. Potter. ibid. [h] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. c. 8. t. ii. p. 1003.

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most melancholy and afflicting reflections. Was it to acquire such odious knowledge, then, that I had quitted my country and relations? And do all the efforts of human understanding only serve to shew us that we are the most miserable of beings? But whence happens it that these beings exist? whence does it happen that they perish? What mean those periodical changes which eternally take place on the theatre of the world? For whom is this dreadful spectacle intended? Is it for the gods, who have no need of it? Is it for men, who are its victims? And why am I myself compelled to act a part on this stage? Why was I drawn from non-entity without my knowledge, and rendered wretched without being asked whether I consented to be so? I interrogate the heavens, the earth, and the whole universe. What answer can they give? They silently execute orders without any knowledge of their motives. I question the sages: cruel men! They have answered me. They have taught me to know myself! They have stripped me of all the claims I had to my own esteem! Already I am unjust towards the gods, and ere long perhaps I shall be barbarous towards men!

To what a height of violence and enthusiasm does a heated imagination transport us! At a single glance I had run over all the consequences of these fatal opinions; the slightest appearances were become to me realities; the most groundless apprehensions were converted into torments: my ideas, like frightful phantoms, maintained a conflict in my mind with the violence of contending waves agitated by the tempest.

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In the midst of this storm of warring passions I had thrown myself, without perceiving it, at the foot of a plane-tree, under which Socrates used sometimes to converse with his disciples.[i] The recollection of this wise and happy man served only to increase my anxiety and delirium. I called on him aloud, and bathed with my tears the spot where he had once sitten, when I discovered at a distance Phocus, the son of Phocion, and Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias,[k] accompanied by some young men of my acquaintance. I had barely time to recover the use of my senses before they approached, and obliged me to follow them.

We went to the forum, where we were shewn epigrams and songs against persons at the head of administration,[l] and it was agreed that the best government was that of Lacedæmon.[m] We next repaired to the theatre, where new pieces were performing, which we hissed;[n] yet they succeeded. We then took a ride, and, after bathing, supped on our return with some singing girls and female flute-players.[o] I forgot the portico, the plane-tree, and Socrates, and resigned myself without reserve to pleasure and licentiousness. Part of the night we spent in drinking, and the remainder in scouring the streets to insult the passengers.[p]

When I awoke, peace reigned in my soul, and

[i] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 229. [k] Plut. in Phoc. t. i. p. 744 et 750. [l] Id. in Pericl. t. i. p. 170. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 4. c. 1. t. ii. p. 363. [n] Demosth. de Fals. Legat. p. 346. [o] Plat. in Protag. t. i. p. 347. [p] Demosth. in Conon. p. 1110.

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I easily discovered the source of those terrors which had agitated me the preceding day. Not yet inured to the uncertainties of science, my fears had been those of a child on finding himself alone for the first time in the dark. From this moment I resolved to acquire fixed ideas on the opinions discussed in the portico, to frequent the library of one of my Athenian friends, and avail myself of that opportunity to become master of the various branches of Grecian literature.

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CHAPTER XXIX

Library of an Athenian.—Class of Philosophy.

Pisistratus, two centuries ago, had collected a library open to the public, which was carried away by Xerxes into Persia.[q] In my time, several Athenians had collections of books; the most considerable was the library of Euclid, who had received it from his ancestors,[r] and who deserved to possess it, since he understood its value.

On entering this library, I was struck with surprise and pleasure. I found myself in the midst of the finest geniuses of Greece, living and breathing in their works, with which I was surrounded. Even their silence increased my respect. An assembly of the sovereigns of all the nations on earth would have appeared to me less awful. A few moments after, I could not help exclaiming: Alas! how much knowledge is here which is denied the Scythians! I have since said, more than once, how much knowledge useless to man!

I shall not here speak of all the different kinds of substances which have been used to write on. The

[q] Aul. Gell. lib. 6. c. 17. [r] Athen. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 3. Casaub. ibid. p. 6.

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skins of sheep and goats,[s] and various sorts of linen cloth, were successively employed;[t] paper has since come into use, made from the inner films of the stalk of a plant which grows in the marshes of Egypt, or amid the stagnant waters left by the Nile after its inundation.[u] It is formed into rolls, at the extremity of which is suspended a ticket containing the title of the book. Each roll is only written on one side, and, to accommodate the reader, is divided into several compartments or pages.*

Copyists by profession[x] pass their lives in transcribing the works which fall into their hands; and other individuals, for the sake of information, take this trouble on themselves. Demosthenes told me one day, that, in order to form his style, he had eight times transcribed the history of Thucydides with his own hand.[y] Copies are multiplied by this means, but are seldom very common, on account of the expense,† a circumstance which greatly retards the progress of knowledge. A book becomes still more rare when it appears in a foreign country, and treats on subjects not understood by the generality of readers

[s] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 58. [t] Plin. lib. 13. c. 11. t. i. p. 689. Caylus, Rec. d'Antiq. t. v. p. 76. [u] Theophr. Histor. Plant. lib. 4. c. 9. p. 423. Plin. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. page 276. * See the manuscripts of Herculaneum. [x] Poll. lib. 7. c. 33. § 211. [y] Lucian. adv. Indoct. § 4. t. iii. p. 102. † After the death of Speusippus, Plato's disciple, Aristotle bought his books, which were few in number, and paid three talents, or 16,200 livres (675*l.*) for them. Diog. Laërt. in Speus. lib. 4. § 5. Aul. Gell. lib. 3. c. 17.

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I have known Plato, notwithstanding the extensive correspondence he had in Italy, obtain, with difficulty, certain philosophical works,[a] and pay a hundred minæ* for three small treatises by Philolaus.[a]

The Athenian booksellers can neither take the same pains nor make similar advances. Their stock generally consists of books of mere amusement, part of which they send to the adjacent countries, and sometimes even to the Greek colonies on the coast of the Euxine.[b] The passion for writing is perpetually furnishing fresh articles for this commerce. The Greeks are versed in every species of literature. Of this we shall be able to judge from the account I am about to give of the library of Euclid.

I shall begin with the class of philosophy. The works of this class date no higher than the age of Solon, who flourished about two hundred and fifty years ago. Prior to that period the Greeks had theologians, but no philosophers. Little anxious to study nature, the poets collected, and by their works gave a sanction to the reigning falsehoods and superstitions of the people. But in the time of this legislator, and towards the 50th Olympiad,† an astonishing revolution suddenly took place in the minds of men. Thales and Pythagoras laid the foundations of their philosophy; Cadmus of Miletus wrote history in

[a] Diog. Laërt. in Archyt. lib. 8. § 90.
[a] Id. in Plat. lib. 3. § 9; lib. 8. § 85.
[b] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 412.

* 9000 livres (375*l.*) Aul. Gel. lib. 3. c. 17.

† About the year 580 before Christ.

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prose: Thespis first gave a settled form to tragedy; as did Susarian to comedy.

Thales of Miletus in Iönia, one of the seven sages of Greece, was born in the first year of the 35th Olympiad.[c]* In his early years he filled with distinction the employments to which he was called by his birth and wisdom. A thirst for knowledge soon incited him to travel into foreign countries. On his return, devoting himself exclusively to the study of nature, he astonished Greece, by predicting a solar eclipse;[d] and instructed it, by communicating the knowledge of geometry and astronomy which he had acquired in Egypt.[e] He lived independent, enjoyed his reputation in peace, and died without regret.† In his youth, his mother pressed him to marry, and repeated her solicitations several years after. The first time he said: It is too soon. The second time: It is too late.

Many of his replies are still remembered, which I shall repeat, as they may give an idea of his philosophy, and show with what precision the sages of that age endeavoured to answer the questions propounded to them.

What is most beautiful?—The universe; for it is the work of God.—What most immense?—Space;

[c] Apollod. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 38. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 56. * About the year 640 before Christ. [d] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 74. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 49. t. iii. p. 41. Plin. lib. 2. c. 12. t. i. p. 78. [e] Diog. Laërt. in Thal. lib. 1. § 14 et 27. Bailly, Hist. d'Astron. Anc. p. 196 et 4439. † About the year 548 before Christ. [f] Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 26.

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because it contains every thing.—What most powerful?—Necessity; because it triumphs over all things.—What most difficult?—To know oneself.—What most easy?—To give advice.—What most rare?—A tyrant who arrives at old age.—What difference is there between living and dying?—They are equally indifferent.—Why do you not die then?—Because they are equally indifferent.—What is there that can console us in misfortune?—The sight of an enemy more wretched than ourselves.—What method must we take to lead an irreproachable life?—Do nothing which we should condemn in others.—What is necessary to happiness?—A sound body, an easy fortune, and an enlightened mind,[g] &c. &c.

Nothing is so celebrated as the name of Pythagoras; nothing so little known as the particulars of his life.[h] It appears that in his youth he took lessons of Thales and Pherecydes of Syros; that he afterwards resided a long time in Egypt; and that, if he did not actually visit the kingdoms of Upper Asia, he had at least some knowledge of the sciences cultivated in those countries. The profundity of the Egyptian mysteries, the deep meditations of the sages of the East, were as well adapted to inflame his ardent imagination as the austere mode of life which the greater part of them had embraced was congenial with his firm character.

On his return, finding his country enslaved by a

[g] Diog. Laërt. in Thal. lib. 1. § 35, 36, &c. [h] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 8. § 1. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 455. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 994.

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tyrant,[i] he went, far from servitude, to settle at Croton in Italy. This city was then in a deplorable situation. The inhabitants, vanquished by the Locrians, had lost all sense of their native powers, and sought no other resource under their misfortunes than in the excess of pleasure. Pythagoras undertook to re-animate their courage by inspiring them with their ancient virtues. His instructions and example so hastened the progress of reformation, that the Crotonian women, excited by his eloquence, were seen to dedicate in a temple the precious ornaments in which it was their pride to deck themselves.[k]

Not satisfied with this triumph, he endeavoured to render permanent the good which he had effected, by educating the youth in the principles to which he owed his success. Well knowing that in a state nothing inspires more energy than wisdom of manners, nor in an individual than perfect self-denial, he planned a system of education, which, to render the mind capable of receiving truth, taught it to be independent of the senses. Then was it that he founded that celebrated institution, which still stands pre-eminent, even in these later times, among all other philosophical sects.[l] Of this I shall have occasion to treat hereafter.*

Towards the end of his life, and in extreme old age, he had the affliction to see almost all that he had done rendered of no effect by the jealousy of the

[i] Strab. lib. 14. p. 638. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 3. [k] Justin. lib. 20. c. 4. [l] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 600. * See Chap. LXXV.

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leading citizens of Croton. Obliged to take flight, he wandered from town to town,[m] until the moment when death, terminating his misfortunes, reduced envy to silence, and procured honours to his memory, which were carried to an extravagant length, from the remembrance of the persecution he had suffered.

The Iönian school owes its origin to Thales; the Italian to Pythagoras: both of these schools have given birth to others, which have all of them produced great men. Euclid, when collecting their productions, had been attentive to distribute them relatively to the different systems of philosophy.

After some treatises, falsely perhaps attributed to Thales,[n] were ranged the works of those who have taught his doctrine, and were successively at the head of his school. These are Anaximander,[o] Anaximenes,[p] Anaxagoras, who first taught philosophy at Athens,[q] and Archelaus, who was the master of Socrates.[r] Their writings treat on the formation of the universe, of the nature of things, and of geometry and astronomy.

The following treatises were much more closely connected with morals; for Socrates and his disciples bestowed their attention less on nature in general than on man in particular. Socrates has left nothing in writing but a hymn in honour of Apollo, and some

[m] Porph. de Vit. Pyth. p. 51. [n] Plut. de Oracl. t. ii. p. 403, Diog. Laërt. lib. 1. § 23. [o] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 2. Suid. in Ἀναξίμ. [p] Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 814. [q] Aristot. de Anim. lib. i. c. 2. t. i. p. 620. Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1. p. 352. [r] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 16.

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fables of Æsop, which he put into verse whilst he was in prison.[s] I found both these little pieces, and the works that have proceeded from his school, in the library of Euclid. The latter are almost all in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is the principal speaker, it being their object to record his conversations. I saw the Dialogues of Plato; those of Alexamenes prior to those of Plato;[t] those of Xenophon, of Æschines,[u] of Crito,[x] of Simon,[y] of Glaucon,[z] of Simmias,[a] of Cebes,[b] of Phædon,[c] and of Euclid,[d] who founded the school of Megara, at present under the direction of Eubulides his disciple.

The Italian school has produced a much greater number of authors than the Iönian.[e] Besides some treatises ascribed to Pythagoras, and which do not appear to be authentic,[f] Euclid was in possession of almost all the writings of the philosophers who have followed or modified his doctrine.

Such was Empedocles of Agrigentum, to whom the inhabitants of that great city offered the crown, but who preferred the glory of establishing among them an equal government.[g] With a genius com-

[s] Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. ii. p. 328. Cicer. de Orat. lib. 3. c. 16. t. i. p. 294. Plat. in Phæd. t. i. p. 60. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 42. [t] Aristot. ap. Athen. lib. 11. c. 15. p. 505. [u] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 61. Athen. lib. 13. p. 611. [x] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 121. [y] Id. ibid. § 122. [z] Id. ibid. § 124. [a] Id. ibid. [b] Id. ibid. § 125. [c] Id. ibid. § 132. [d] Id. ibid. § 108. [e] Jambl. Vit. Pythag. p. 205. [f] Heracl. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib 8. § 6. Plut. de Fort. Alex. t. i. p. 328. Lucian. pro Lapsu in Salut. t. i. p. 729. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 460. [g] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 8. § 72. Aristot. ap. eund. § 63.

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parable even to that of Homer, he lent the charms of poetry to the most abstract subjects,[h] and acquired so great a degree of celebrity as to attract the attention of all the Greeks assembled at the Olympic games.[i] He said to the Agrigentines: "You eagerly pursue pleasures as if you were to die to-morrow, and you build houses as if you were to live for ever."[k]

Such again were Epicharmus, a man of wit, like most of the Sicilians,[l] who incurred the displeasure of king Hiero by making use of an indecent expression in presence of the wife of that prince,[m] and the ill will of the other philosophers by revealing the secret of their dogmas in his comedies;[n] Ocellus of Lucania, Timæus of Locris, authors less splendid, but more profound and more correct than the former; Archytas of Tarentum, celebrated for his important discoveries in mechanics;[o] Philolalus of Croton, one of the first among the Greeks who made the earth move round the centre of the universe;[p] Eudoxus, whom I have often seen at Plato's, and who was at once a geometrician, astronomer, physician, and legislator;[q] not to mention an Ecphantus, an Alcmæon, an Hippasus, and a multitude of others, as well ancient as modern, who lived in obscurity, and have become celebrated after their deaths.

One of the shelves particularly attracted my atten-

[h] Aristot. ap. eund. lib. 8. § 57. [i] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 66. [k] Id. ibid. § 63. [l] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 8. t. ii. p. 238. Id. de Clar. Orat. c. 12. t. i. p. 345. [m] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 175. [n] Jambl. Vita Pythagor. c. 36. p. 215. [o] Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 83. [p] Id. ibid. § 85. [q] Id. ibid. § 86.

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tion: it was filled with a series of philosophical books, all written by women, which were generally in favour of the Pythagorean doctrine.[r] I there found the treatise on Wisdom of Perictione, a work abounding in perspicuous metaphysics. Euclid told me that Aristotle held it in high estimation, and intended to borrow some ideas from it on the nature of existence and its accidents.[s]

He added that the Italian school had diffused more knowledge over the world than the Iönian, but that it had committed errors from which its rival was necessarily exempt. The two great men, in fact, who founded them, stamped the character of their genius on their works. Thales, distinguished by profound sense, had for his disciples sages who studied nature in the simplest manner. His school at length produced Anaxagoras and the soundest theology; Socrates and the purest morals. Pythagoras, perpetually under the influence of a lively imagination, established a sect of pious enthusiasts, who at first beheld nothing in nature but harmonies and proportions; but passing from one species of fiction to another, gave birth to the Elean school, and the most abstract metaphysics.

The philosophers of the latter school may be divided into two classes. Some, as Xenophanes, Parmenides, Melissus, and Zeno, confined them-

[r] Jambl. Vita Pythag. p. 218. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. i. p. 524. Menag. Histor. Mul. Philos. [s] Stob. de Vert. serm. 1. p. 6. Phot. Bibl. p. 373. [t] Franc. Patric. Discuss. Peripat. t. ii. lib. 2. p. 197. Ant. Conti. Illustr. del Parmen. p. 20.

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selves to metaphysics; while others, as Leucippus, Democritus, Protagoras, &c. bestowed their chief attention on physics.[a]

The Elean school owes its origin to Xenophanes, of Colophon in Iönia.* Exiled from his country, which he had celebrated by his verses, he went to settle in Sicily, where he could find no means to maintain his family but by singing his poetry in public,[x] after the manner of the first philosophers. He condemned all games of chance; and some one treating him in consequence as a man of a weak mind, and full of prejudices, he answered: "I am, indeed, the weakest of men respecting actions at which I could not but blush."[y]

Parmenides, his disciple, was of one of the most ancient and richest families of Elea.[z] He bestowed on his country so excellent a code of laws, that the magistrates oblige every citizen annually to swear he will observe them.[a] Disgusted, at last, with influence and authority, he resigned himself wholly to philosophy, and passed the remainder of his days in silence and meditation. Most of his writings are in verse.[b]

Zeno of Elea, who was his disciple, and adopted by him,[c] saw a tyrant gradually establishing himself in a free city, conspired against him, and died, re-

[a] Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1143. * Born about the year 556 before Christ (Bruck. Hist. Philos. p. 1. 144.) [x] Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 18. [y] Plut. de Vitios. Pud. t. ii. p. 530. [z] Bruck. Hist. Phil. t. i. p. 1157. [a] Plat. adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1127. Speusipp. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 28. [b] Diog. ibid. § 22. [c] Id. in Zen. ibid. § 25.

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fusing to give up his accomplices.[d] This philosopher loved the public as much as he esteemed himself. His soul, so unshaken in the hour of danger, was not proof against the shafts of calumny. He said: "To be insensible to the evil that is spoken of me, I must be so likewise to the good."[e]

Among the philosophers, and particularly among those of the Elean school, we find men who took part in the administration of the state, such as Parmenides and Zeno.[f] We see others who have commanded armies. Archytas gained several advantages at the head of the Tarentine troops.[g] Melissus, a scholar of Parmenides, vanquished the Athenians in a sea-fight.[h] But these examples, and others which might be mentioned, by no means prove that philosophy is calculated to form statesmen and great generals; they only show that a statesman or great general may cultivate philosophy.

Leucippus deviated from the principles of his master Zeno,[i] and communicated his own to Democritus of Abdera, in Thrace.

The latter was born in opulence;[k] but he reserved only a part of his fortune to travel, after the example of Pythagoras, among the nations whom the Greeks treated as barbarians, but who were in fact the

[d] Diog. in Zen. lib. 9. § 26. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 2. c. 22. t. ii. p. 294. Val. Max. lib. 3. c. 3. [e] Diogen. Laërt. ibid. § 29. [f] Diogen. in Parm. et Zen. [g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 7. c. 14. Aristox. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 82. [h] Ælian. ibid. Plut. in Per. t. i. p. 166; et adv. Colot. t. ii. p. 1126. [i] Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1177. [k] Id. ibid. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 36.

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guardians of the sciences. On his return, one of his brothers, who had enriched himself by what he had abandoned, provided for his wants, which were confined to mere necessaries: and to ward off the operation of a law which denied sepulture to the citizen convicted of having dissipated the inheritance of his fathers, Democritus read to an assembly of the inhabitants of Abdera a work which completely gained their esteem and admiration.[l] He passed the remainder of his life in profound retirement; fortunate in possessing an ardent passion, which it was always in his power to gratify, that of edifying himself by his meditations, and others by his writings.

Protagoras,[m] born of poor parents, and employed in servile occupations, was discovered and brought up by Democritus, who directed and expanded his genius. This is the same Protagoras who became one of the most illustrious sophists of Athens, in which city he took up his residence. He compiled laws for the Thurians in Italy,[n] wrote on philosophy, was accused of atheism, and banished Attica. His works were rigorously sought after in private houses, and burnt in the market-place.[o]

I know not whether we should attribute to the circumstances of the times, or the nature of the human mind, a certain singularity which I have frequently

[l] Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 39. [m] Bruck. Hist. Philos. tom. i. p. 1200. [n] Heracl. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 50. [o] Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 52. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 416. Suid. in Πρωταγ.

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observed with admiration. No sooner does a man of abilities and genius make his appearance in a city, than other men of genius emerge from obscurity, who but for him might possibly never have been able to display themselves. Cadmus and Thales in Miletus, Pythagoras in Italy, Parmenides in the city of Elea, Æschylus and Socrates in Athens, have created, if I may so speak, in these different countries, generations of emulous minds, eager to equal or to surpass their models. Even Abdera, that little town, heretofore so celebrated for the stupidity of its inhabitants,[p] had scarcely produced Democritus before Protagoras appeared; and he again will be succeeded by a citizen of the same place, by Anaxarchus, who has already given the most unequivocal presages of future excellence.[q]

Among the authors who have written on philosophy, I must not omit the dark Heraclitus of Ephesus, for he has merited this epithet by the obscurity of his style.[r] This man, of the most gloomy character and intolerable pride, began by acknowledging that he knew nothing, and ended by declaring that he knew every thing.[s] The Ephesians wished to place him at the head of their republic, which he refused, being offended at their having exiled his friend Hermodorus.[t] They asked him for a code of laws. He answered, that they were too corrupt.[u] Having rendered him-

[p] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 43. t. ii. p. 433. Juven. Sat. 10. v. 50. [q] Diod. Laërt. in Anaxarch. lib. 9. § 58. [r] Cicer. de Finib. lib. 2. c. 5. Senec. Epist. 12. Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 5. p. 676. [s] Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 5. [t] Id. ibid. § 2 et 6. [u] Id. ibid. § 2.

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self universally odious, he quitted Ephesus, and retired into the neighbouring mountains, feeding only on wild herbs, and deriving no other satisfaction from his meditations than what arose from his increased hatred of mankind.

Socrates having finished reading a work of Heraclitus, said to Euripides, who lent it him: "What I understand of it is excellent; I make no doubt but the remainder is so likewise: but you risk drowning yourself in it, if you are not as skilful as a Delian diver."[x]

The works of these celebrated writers were accompanied by many others, the authors of which are less generally known. Whilst I was congratulating Euclid on possessing so valuable a collection, I saw a man, venerable from his countenance, his age, and deportment, enter the library. His hair flowed upon his shoulders, and was bound with a diadem and a crown of myrtle. This was Callias the hierophant, or high priest of Ceres, the intimate friend of Euclid, who was so attentive as to introduce me to him, and prepossess him in my favour. After some moments conversation I returned to my books, examining them with an eagerness which did not escape Callias. He asked me whether it would give me pleasure to acquire some idea of the doctrine they contained. I will answer you, said I with vivacity, as one of my ancestors formerly did Solon:[y] "I have quitted Scythia, I have traversed immense countries, and braved

[x] Diog. in Soc. lib. 2. § 22. Id. in Heracl. lib. 9. § 11. Suid. in Δῆλ. [y] Lucian. de Gymnas. § 14. t. ii. p. 892.

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the tempests of the Euxine sea, only to come and seek instruction among you." My resolution is taken, I will never leave this place: I am going to devour the writings of your sages; for from their labours we must undoubtedly learn sublime truths essential to the happiness of man. Callias smiled at my determination, perhaps with a mixture of compassion:—Of this we may judge by the following discourse.

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CHAPTER XXX.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTER.

Discourse of the High Priest of Ceres on First Causes.

I ONCE dreamed, said Callias, that I was suddenly transported into a high road, in the midst of an immense multitude, composed of persons of all ages, sexes, and conditions. We pressed forward with rapid steps, each with a bandage over his eyes, some muttering shouts of joy, but the greater part oppressed with chagrin and listlessness. I knew not whence I came, nor whither I was going. I interrogated those around me. Some answered: We are as ignorant as yourself, but we follow those who precede us, and precede those who follow us. Others replied: What signify these questions to us? Look at these people who are pressing us, we must repulse them in our turn. Others again, more rational, said to me: The gods have ordained us to run this race, and we obey their commands without either participating in the idle joy, or sharing in the fruitless sorrow of this multitude. I was suffering myself to be hurried away by the crowd, when I heard a voice exclaiming, This is the path of knowledge and of truth. I turned and hastily followed, when a man seizing me by the hand, took off my bandage and led me into a forest, where I could see no more than when I was blinded.

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We soon lost all traces of the path in which we before were, and met with a great number of persons who had lost themselves like us. Their guides never fell in with each other without coming to blows, for it was the interest of each to seduce as many followers as possible from the rest: they bore torches, and kept shaking them in order to dazzle us with the sparks. I often changed my conductor, and often fell among precipices; frequently too I found myself stopped by an impenetrable wall; in which cases my guides disappeared, leaving me in all the horror of despair. Exhausted by fatigue, I regretted that I had ever quitted the road followed by the multitude, and awaked full of this regret.

O my son, men lived for many ages in a state of ignorance, which left their reason at peace! Contented with the confused traditions transmitted to them concerning the origin of things, they lived happy, without seeking to enlarge their sphere of knowledge. But for these last two hundred years, agitated by a secret inquietude, they have endeavoured to penetrate the mysteries of nature, on which they formerly bestowed no attention; and this new malady of the human mind has substituted great errors for violent prejudices.

When it was discovered that God, the universe, and man, were sublime objects of meditation, the mind of the observer seemed to acquire new elevation, for nothing inspires more elevated ideas or more extensive views than the study of nature; and as the ambition of the mind is as active and insatiable as

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that of the heart, men wished to measure space, fathom infinity, and pursue the windings of that chain which, in the immensity of its folds, embraces the universality of beings.

The works of the first philosophers are didactic and unornamented. They proceed only on principles and consequences, like those of goemetritricians ;[a] but the grandeur of the subject diffuses a majesty over them, which not unfrequently inspires an interest and respect from their very title. The author announces that he is about to treat *of Nature, of Heaven, of the World, of the Soul of the World.* Democritus begins one of his treatises in these important words, *I treat of the Universe.*[a]

In examining this enormous collection, where the most vivid light flashes forth from amidst the most profound obscurity, where excess of delirium is joined to the depth of wisdom, where man has at once displayed the strength and weakness of his reason, remember, O my son, that Nature is concealed under a brazen veil, that the united efforts of men and ages never can lift up the extremity of this covering, and that the science of philosophy consists in discerning the point where mystery begins, and its wisdom in revering it.

In our days we have seen the existence of the Deity either totally denied, or called in question, that existence so long and uniformly attested by the consent of all nations.[b] Some philosophers formally

[a] See Ocellus Lucanus and Timæus of Locris. [a] Cicer. Acad. c. 23. t. ii. p. 31. [b] Aristot. de Cœl. lib. 1. c. 3. t. i. p. 434.

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reject it:[c] others overturn it by their principles. But all those reasoners who attempt to fathom the essence of that infinite being, or to account for his operations, necessarily lose themselves in the incomprehensibility of their subject.

Ask them, What is God? they will answer, That which has neither beginning nor end.[d]—A pure spirit;[e]—an extremely subtle matter, air;[f]—a fire endowed with intelligence;[g]—the world.[h] No; the soul of the world to which it is united, as the soul is to the body.[i]—He is the single principle of all things.[k] He is the principle of good: matter is the principle of evil.[l]—Every thing is executed by his command and under his eye.[m] No; every thing is performed by subordinate agents.—O my son! adore God, and seek not to know him.

Ask them, What is the universe? they will answer, Whatever it has always been; the world therefore is eternal.[n]—No; it is not eternal, but matter is.[o]—This matter, susceptible of every form, possessed none in particular.[p]—It had a form, it had several, it

[c] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 7. t. ii. p. 880. [d] Thal. ap. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § 36. [e] Anaxag. ap. Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 621. ap. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 405. [f] Diogen. Apoll. ap. Cicer. ibid. c. 12. Anaxim. ap. Cicer. ibid. c. 10. [g] Pythag. ap. Bruck. t. i. p. 1077. Democr. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 7. t. ii. p. 881. [h] Aristot. ap. Cic. ibid. c. 13. Heracl. Pont. ap. Cicer. ibid. Thales ap. Plut. ibid. Pythag. ap. Cicer. ibid. c. 11. [k] Xenophan. ap. Cicer. Acad. 11. c. 37. t. ii. p. 49. [l] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 93. Plat. in Tim. p. 47. Id. de Rep. t. ii. p. 273. [m] Plat. ibid. [n] Ocel. Lucan. in init. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 6. Hist. des Causes Prem. t. i. p. 387. [o] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 1. c. 10. t. i. p. 447. [p] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 94. Plat. in Tim. ibid. p. 51, &c.

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had an unlimited number of forms; for it is nothing but water,[r] but air,[s] but fire,[t] but the elements,[u] but an assemblage of atoms,[x] but an infinite number of incorruptible elements of similar particles, which form every species of being by their combination. This matter subsisted motionless in chaos; intelligence communicated to it activity, and the world appeared.[y]—No; it had an irregular motion; God communicated regularity to it by infusing into it a portion of his essence, and the world was made.[z]—No; the atoms were floating in the void, and the universe was the result of their fortuitous concourse.[a]—No; in nature there are but two elements, which have produced and preserved every thing; earth, and fire which animates earth.[b]—No; to the four elements we must add love that unites their parts, and hatred that separates them.[c]—O my son! waste not your days in studying the nature of the universe, but employ them in filling as becomes you the little space you occupy in it.

Ask them, in fine, What is man? they will answer: Man exhibits the same phenomena and the same

[r] Thales. ap. Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 842. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 875. [s] Anaxim. et Diogen. ap. Aristot. ibid. Plut. ibid. [t] Hipp. et. Heracl. ap. Aristot. ibid. [u] Emped. ap. Aristot. ibid. [x] Dem. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 44. Plut. ibid. p. 877. [y] Anaxag. ap. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 3 et 4. t. i. p. 477, &c.; ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. i. c. 3. p. 876; ap. Diog. Laert. in Anaxag. lib. 2. § 6. [z] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 95. Plat. in Tim. p. 34. [a] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 878. [b] Parmen. ap. Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 847. [c] Emped. ap. Aristot. ibid. c. 4. p. 844.

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contradictions as the universe of which he is the abstract.[c] The principle which has at all times been distinguished by the name of soul and intelligence is a nature perpetually in motion.[d]—It is a number which moves of itself.[e]—It is a pure spirit, say they, which has nothing in common with bodies.—But if so, how can it be acquainted with them?[f]—It is rather a very subtle air[g]—a very active fire[h]—a flame emanating from the sun[i]—a portion of æther[k]—a very light water[l]—a mxiture of several elements.[m]—It is an assemblage of ingenious and spherical atoms, similar to those subtle particles of matter which we see floating in the rays of the sun.[n] It is a simple being.—No; it is a compound being; it is composed of several principles, it is composed of several opposite qualities.[o]—It is the blood circulating in our veins.[p] This soul is diffused through our whole body.—It resides only in the brain,---in the heart,[q]---in the diaphragm.[r] It perishes with us.---No; it is unperishable; but it animates other bodies;---but it re-

[c] Vita Pythagor. ap. Photium, p. 1317. [d] Thales. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 2. t. ii. p. 898. [e] Pythag. ap. Plut. ibid. Zenocr. ap. eund. de Procr. Anim. t. ii. p. 1012. Aristot. Topic. lib. 6. c. 3. t. i. p. 243. [f] Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 621. [g] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 3. [h] Aristot. ibid. [i] Epicharm. ap. Varr. de Ling. Lat. lib. 4. p. 17. [k] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 28. [l] Hippon. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 620. [m] Emped. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 619. [n] Democr. et Leucipp. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 619; ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 93. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 3. t. ii. p. 898. [o] Aristot. ibid. Plut. ibid. c. 3 et 4. [p] Critias. ap. Aristot. ibid. p. 621. Macrob. de Somn. Scip. lib. 1. c. 14. [q] Emped. ap. Cicer. Tuscul. c. 9. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 239. [r] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 5. p. 899.

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unites with the soul of the universe.'—O my son! regulate the emotions and passions of your soul, and seek not to comprehend its essence.

Such is the general sketch of the opinions which men have invented on the most important subjects of philosophy This abundance of ideas is in effect a real dearth; and that pile of learning you have before your eyes, that pretended treasure of sublime knowledge, no other than a wretched heap of errors and contradictions. Look not there for systems uniform and correct in all their parts, for clear expositions, and solutions applicable to every phenomenon of nature. Almost all these authors are unintelligible, because they are too concise; they are so, because they fear to shock the opinions of the multitude. They envelope their doctrine in expressions either metaphorical or contrary to their real principles; in fine, they are unintelligible, because they effect to be so, to elude difficulties they had not foreseen, or which they find themselves unable to resolve.

If, nevertheless, dissatisfied with the conclusions which you have just heard, you wish to acquire a cursory knowledge of their principal systems, you will be terrified at the nature of the questions which they presume to discuss at the very outset. Is there but one principal in the universe? Ought we to admit several? If there be but one, is it moveable

[1] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 7. Cicer. Tuscul. c. 9. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 239.

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or immoveable? If there be several, are they finite or infinite?[t]

But the great question was to explain the formation of the universe, and to assign the cause of that astonishing number of species and individual beings which nature presents to our eyes. The forms and qualities of bodies vary, and are in a perpetual state of destruction and reproduction; but the matter of which they are composed eternally subsists; and the imagination is able to pursue it through all its numberless divisions and subdivisions, until it at length arrives at a simple being, the first principle of the universe and of all individual bodies.[u] The founders of the Iönian school, and some philosophers of other schools, applied themselves to discover this simple and indivisible being. Some imagined it to be the element of water;[x] others air; others again combined earth and fire with these two elements; and a fourth sect supposed that from all eternity there had existed, in the primative mass, an immense number of motionless parts, determinate in form and kind; and that nothing more was requisite than to collect all the scattered particles of air, in order to form that element; all the atoms of gold to compose that metal, and so on with every other species of matter.[y]

The sole object of these different systems was the material and passive principle of things; but it was

[t] Aristot. de Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 316. [u] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 842. [x] Id, ibid. p. 842. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 875. [y] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 843.

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soon discovered that a second principle was necessary to bestow activity on the former. Fire appeared in general to be an agent equal to the composition and decomposition of bodies; whilst others imagined they perceived in the particles of crude matter a sort of sympathy and antipathy capable of alternately separating and uniting them.[a] These, and other hypotheses since substituted for them, being inapplicable to all the varieties of nature, their authors were often under the necessity of recurring to other principles, or of sinking under the weight of difficulties, like those wrestlers, who entering the lists without being sufficiently inured to discipline proper for their exercise, owe the petty successes on which they pride themselves to chance.[b]

The order and beauty which are apparent through the whole universe, compelled men at length to refer them to an intelligent cause. This the early philosophers of the Ionian school had acknowledged;[c] but Anaxagoras, possibly following Hermotimus, was the first who distinguished it from matter, and positively pronounced that all things existed from eternity in the primitive mass, and that intelligence imparted its activity to this mass, and brought it into order.

Before the Ionian school had attained to this elevated truth, which, after all, was no more than the ancient tradition of all nations, Pythagoras, or rather his disciples; for, notwithstanding we are so near the

[a] Emped. ap. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 878.
[b] Aristoph. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 844. [c] Id. ibid. c. 8. t. ii. p. 843. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 10. t. ii. p. 495.

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time in which he lived, it is impossible to learn the genuine opinions of this extraordinary man; some Pythagoreans, I say, considered the universe as matter animated by an intelligence which sets the whole in motion, and is so intimately diffused through all its parts as to be incapable of separation from it.[c] This intelligence may be considered as the author of all things, as a very subtle fire, a most pure flame, or as the force which has subdued matter, and still holds it enchained.[d] As its essence cannot be an object of the senses, to express it let us borrow, not the language of the senses, but that of the mind. Let us give to intelligence, or the active principle of the universe, the name of monad or unity, because it must be always the same; to matter, or the passive principle, that of dyad or multiplicity, because it is subject to every kind of change; and to the world, that of triad, since it is the result of intelligence and matter.

Several of the disciples of Pythagoras have occasionally annexed other ideas to these expressions, but they have almost universally sought for properties, by the knowledge of which they might attain that of nature in the science of numbers; properties which to them seemed to be indicated in the phenomena of sonorous bodies.[e]

If we stretch a string and divide it successively into two, three, and four parts, in each half we shall have the octave of the whole; in the three fourths

[c] Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 405. [d] Justin. Mart. Orat. ad Gent. p. 20. [e] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 845.

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its fourth; in the two thirds its fifth. The octave then will be as 1 to 2; the fourth, as 3 to 4; and the fifth, as 2 to 3. The importance of this observation made them give to the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, the name of the *sacred quaternary*.

Such were the proportions of Pythagoras,[f] such the principles on which was founded the musical system of all nations, and particularly of that which this philosopher found among the Greeks, and which he improved by his discoveries.

In consequence of these discoveries, which are to be ascribed to the Egyptians, it was easy to conclude that the laws of harmony are invariable, and that Nature herself has irrevocably fixed the value and the intervals of tones. But as she is always uniform in her works, why may not she have observed the same laws in the general system of the universe? This idea was a new ray of light to active minds, prepared for enthusiasm by retirement, abstinence, and meditation; to men who religiously dedicated every day some hours to music, and especially to the acquiring of a just intonation.[g]

Presently it was discovered that the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4,[h] not only contain one of the principles of the musical system, but also those of physics, and, even of morals. Every thing was considered as proportion and harmony; time, justice, friendship, and

[f] Roussier, Mem. sur la Musique des Anciens, p. 39. [g] Plut. de Virtut. Mor. t. ii. p. 441. Aristid. Quintil. de Music. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 116. Boëth. de Mus. lib. 1. c. 1. p. 1373. [h] Sext. Empir. adv. Arith. lib. 4. § 2. p. 331.

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intelligence, were no other than the relations of numbers.[i]

Empedocles admitted four elements, water, air, earth, and fire. Other Pythagoreans discovered four faculties in the soul;[k] all our virtues proceeded from four principle virtues. As the numbers which compose the sacred quaternary produce, when combined, the number ten, the most perfect of all; from this very combination[l] ten spheres were to be admitted into the heavens, though they contain but nine.[m]

Such of the Pythagoreans, in fine, as supposed the universe to be animated by a soul, were unable to give any more satisfactory solution of the motions of the heavens, and the distance of the celestial bodies from the earth, than by estimating the degrees of activity possessed by this soul from the centre to the circumference of the universe.[n] Now, if we divide this immense space into thirty-six intervals, or rather imagine a line extending from the centre of the earth to the extremities of the planetary world, and divided into thirty-six parts, at the distance of a tone or semitone from each other, we shall have the musical scale of the universal soul.[o] The celestial bodies are placed at different degrees of this scale, at distances relatively proportionate to each other, as in the ratios of the

[i] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 845. Diogen. Laërt. in Pythag. lib. 8. § 33. [k] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii p. 877. [l] Id. ibid. p. 876. [m] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. t. ii. p. 845. [n] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Plat. in Tim. p. 36. [o] Batt. Remarq. sur Timée, dans l'Histoire des Causes Premières, t. ii. p. 97.

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fifth and other consonances. Their motions, directed after the same proportions, produce a delightful and divine harmony. The Muses, like so many syrens, have placed their thrones upon the stars; they regulate the cadenced motions of the celestial spheres, and preside over those eternal and ravishing concerts which can be heard only in the silence of the passions,[p] and which are said to have filled the soul of Pythagoras with the purest delight.[q]

The proportions which some wished to establish between the distances and motions of the celestial spheres, others pretended to discover in the magnitude of the planets, or in the diameters of their orbits.[r]

This theory is overthrown by the laws of nature; but when it made its appearance, those laws were scarcely known; and had they been better understood, men would not have had the courage to renounce the illusions of a system created and embellished by imagination.

Not less chimerical, but still more unintelligible, is another principle admitted by many Pythagoreans. According to the observations of Heraclitus of Ephesus,[s] bodies are in a continual state of evaporation and fluidity: the particles of matter of which they are composed are perpetually escaping, in order to give

[p] Plat. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 617. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 9. t. i. p. 463. Plut. de Anim. Procr. t. ii. p. 1029. [q] Empedocl. ap. Porphyr. de Vitâ Pythag. p. 35. Jambl. c. 15. p. 52. [r] Plut. ibid. p. 1028. [s] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 473. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 6. t. ii. p. 847. Ibid. lib. 11. c. 4. p. 957.

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his own person, the virtues, the divine essence of which has been the object of his contemplation.

By thus bringing into a closer point of view a few of the scattered outlines of the works you have before you, I have endeavoured to explain the particular systems of some of the Pythagoreans. But the doctrine of numbers is so obscure, so profound, and so attractive to minds of little reflection, that it has given birth to a multitude of opinions.

Some have distinguished numbers from ideas or species ;[a] others have confounded them with species; as they, in fact, contain a certain quantity of individuals.[b] It has been said that numbers exist separately from bodies: it has been asserted too that they exist in bodies themselves.[c] Sometimes number seems to designate the element of extent; it is the substance, or principle, and last term of bodies, as points are of lines, surfaces, and all magnitude;[d] sometimes it expresses only the form of the primitive element.[e] Thus the terrestrial element has the form of a square; fire, air, and water, have that of the different species of triangles, and these various configurations suffice to explain all the effects of nature.[f] This mysterious term, in a word, is in general no more than an arbitrary sign to express either the nature and essence of the first elements, or their forms and proportions, or the ideas or eternal models of all things.

[a] Aristot. Metaphys. lib. 11. cap. 1. t. ii. p. 953. [b] Plat. in Phileb. t. ii. p. 18. [c] Aristot. Metaphys. lib. 11. c. 2. p. 953. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 1 et 8; lib. 12. c. 3. [e] Id. ibid. lib. 12. c. 5. [f] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 98.

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We must here observe that Pythagoras did not affirm that all things were formed by the virtue of numbers.[g] If, in contempt of his express words, some of his disciples,[h] imputing a real existence and secret virtue to numbers, have considered them as the constituent principles of the universe, they have so grossly neglected to unfold and explain their system, that we must be obliged to leave them to their impenetrable profundity.

The obscurity and contradictions the reader meets with in perusing these productions, arise, 1st, from the abstruseness with which the questions are treated by their authors; 2dly, from the diversity of acceptations in which the words *being, principle, cause, element, substance*, and all the terms made use of in philosophic language, may be taken;[i] 3dly, from the ornaments with which the early interpreters of nature embellished their dogmas, for, as they wrote in verse, they addressed themselves more frequently to the imagination than to reason;[k] 4thly, from the variety of methods introduced into certain schools. Several disciples of Pythagoras, while examining into the principles of beings, fixed their attention on the nature of our ideas, and passed almost without perceiving it, from the sensible to the intellectual world. The infant science of metaphysics now obtained the preference

[g] Thean. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 27. [h] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 474. Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5 et 6. t. ii. p. 845 et 848. [i] Id. ibid. lib. 5. c. 1, &c. t. ii. p. 883, &c. Id. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 7. t. i. p. 627. [k] Meteorol. lib. 2. c. 3. t. i. p. 555.

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over that of natural philosophy: and, as those laws of rigid dialectics which check the mind in its deviations were not yet formed,[l] reason imperiously substituted her testimony for that of the senses. Nature, which uniformly tends to single operations[m], presents nothing but multitude and changes: reason which ever attempts to generalise, beholds nothing but unity and immobility; and, soaring on the wings of enthusiasm and imagination,[n] rose from abstraction to abstraction, reached a height of theory at which the most attentive mind is scarcely able to sustain itself.

It was more particularly in the Elean school that the art or licentiousness of reasoning displayed all its resources. There two orders of ideas were established: the first having bodies and their sensible qualities for their object; the second considering being purely in itself, and unconnected with existence. Hence resulted two methods: the one founded, as was pretended, on the evidence of reason and truth; the other on that of the senses and opinion.[o] Both proceeded nearly in the same steps. Hitherto the philosophers who availed themselves of the authority of the senses imagined they had discovered that, to produce an effect, Nature employed two opposite principles, as earth and fire. In like manner, the philosophers who only consulted reason, employed their meditations on entity and non-entity, on finite

[l] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 6. p. 848. Id. ibid. lib. 11. c. 4. p. 957. [m] Id. ibid. lib. 7. c. 16. p. 924. [n] Parmen. ap. Sext. Empiric. adv. Logic. lib. 7. p. 39. [o] Aristot. Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 322.

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and infinite, on unity and multiplicity, on even and odd numbers, &c.[p]

An immeasurable difficulty was still to be surmounted in the application of these abstractions, and the combination of physics and metaphysics. But if some have attempted to reconcile these, they have effected it with so little perspicuity, as generally to leave their readers ignorant whether they are speaking as natural philosophers or metaphysicians. Sometimes we shall find Parmenides supposing neither production nor destruction in nature;[q] sometimes pretending that earth and fire are the principles of all generation.[r] We shall see others who admit no kind of harmony between the senses and reason, and, attentive only to internal knowledge, regard external objects, but as so many fallacious appearances, and as the inexhaustible sources of error and imposture. Nothing really exists! exclaims one of them: If any thing did exist, it would be impossible to know it; if we could know it, it would be impossible to render it sensible.[s] Another, intimately persuaded that we ought neither positively to deny nor affirm any thing, was doubtful of his words, and explained himself only by signs.[t]

I must give you an example of the mode of reasoning of these philosophers: I shall borrow it from Xenophanes, the leader of the Elean school.

[p] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 846; lib. 12. c. 1. [q] Id. de Cœlo, lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 473. [r] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 847. Nat. Auscult. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 321. [s] Gorgias, ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 1248. Isocr. Helen. Laud. t. ii. p. 115. [t] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 4. c. 5. t. ii. p. 878.

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Nothing can proceed from nothing.[u] From this principle, adopted by all his disciples, it follows, that what exists must be eternal; that what is eternal is infinite, since it has neither beginning nor end; what is infinite must be single, for if it were otherwise it would be several; one part would be a limit to the other, and it would cease to be infinite; what is single is always similar to itself. Now, a single, eternal, and always similar being, must be immoveable, since it can neither pass into the *vacuum* which is nothing, nor the *plenum* which it hardly occupies. It must be immoveable, for if it were subject to the least change, something would happen in it which was not there before, and overthrow the fundamental principle. Nothing can proceed from nothing.[x]

In this infinite being, therefore, which comprises all things, and the idea of which is inseparable from intelligence and eternity,[y] there is neither any mingling of parts, nor diversity of forms, nor generation, nor destruction.[z] But how can this immutability be reconciled with the successive revolutions we behold in nature? They are but an illusion, answers Xenophanes; the universe exhibits to us but one moving scene; the scenery exists, but the motion is the work of our senses. No, said Zeno, motion is impossible.

[u] Aristot. de Xenoph. t. i. p. 1241. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 11. t. ii. p. 406. Batt. Hist. des Caus. Prem. t. i. p. 231. [x] Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1148. [y] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 847. Diog. Laërt. in Xen. lib. 9. § 19. Sext. Empir. Pyrrhon. Hypot. lib. 1. c. 33. p. 59. [z] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 3. c. 1. t. i. p. 473.

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He said, and proved it so as to astonish his antagonists, and reduce them to silence.[a]

Oh! my son, what strange knowledge have these celebrated men, who pretend to have brought nature under subjection, introduced into the world![b] and how humiliating were the study of philosophy, if after beginning in doubt,[c] it must terminate in such paradoxes! Let us do justice to those who have advanced them. In general they loved truth, and, thinking to discover it by means of abstract ideas, they were led astray by implicitly following reason, with whose boundaries they were unacquainted. When, after having run the circle of error, they became better informed, they still gave themselves up with no less ardour to the same discussions, esteeming them proper to fix the mind, and to acquire a greater precision of ideas. It must not be denied too, that many of these philosophers, little worthy of so respectable a name, entered the lists merely to try their strength, and to signalize themselves by triumphs, as disgraceful to the victor as to the vanquished. As reason, or rather the art of reasoning, has had its infancy as well as the other arts, inaccurate definitions, and the frequent abuse of words never failed to furnish new weapons to skilful or vigorous disputants. We have almost seen the time, when, in order to prove that the words *one* and *many* may denote the same object, cavillers might be found to maintain that a person might be but one in quality of

[a] Aristot. Nat. Auscult. lib. 6. c. 14. t. i. p. 395. Id. Topic. lib. 8. c. 8. t. i. p. 274. [b] Id. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 2. t. ii. p. 841. [c] Id. ibid. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 858.

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man, but that he might be two in quality of man and musician.[d] These absurd puerilities at present inspire only contempt, and are wholly abandoned to the sophists.

It still remains for me to mention to you a system as remarkable from its singularity as from the reputation of its authors.

The vulgar see nothing around the globe which they inhabit but a vault shining with light during the day, and sparkling with stars during the night. These are the limits of their universe. That of some philosophers has no bounds, and has been enlarged, almost in our time, to a degree that overawes and terrifies the imagination.

The first idea was, that the moon was inhabited; then that the stars were so many worlds, and that the number of these worlds must be infinite, since none of them could serve as a boundary or circumference to the others.[e] What an extensive view did this open at once to the human mind! Though we employ eternity itself to traverse the immeasurable space, borrow the wings of Aurora, fly to the planet Saturn, into the heavens which extend above that planet, still shall we continually find new spheres, and worlds accumulating on each other! still shall we find infinity throughout, in matter, in space, in motion, in the number of worlds and stars that embellish them; and, after millions of years, scarcely shall we be acquainted with a few points

[d] Plat. in Phileb. t. ii. p. 14. [e] Xen. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 9. § 19. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 875; c. 5. p. 879; lib. 2. c. 13. p. 888. Cicer de Finib. lib. 2. c. 31. t. ii. p. 136. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 10.

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of the vast empire of nature! Oh! how has this sublime theory aggrandized the universe in our eyes! And if it be true that our soul expands with our ideas, and assimilates in some measure with the object which it penetrates, how greatly should man pride himself in having fathomed what is in itself so inconceivably profound!

Pride himself! exclaimed I with surprise; and wherefore, most venerable Callias? My mind is overwhelmed at the very idea of this boundless greatness, before which all other greatness is annihilated. You, myself, all men, are no more in my eyes than insects in an immense ocean, in which kings and conquerors are distinguished only because they agitate a little more than others the particles of water that surround them. At these words Callias surveyed me, and after a moment's reflection, seizing my hand, replied: My son, an insect that obtains a glimpse of infinity, partakes of that greatness which astonishes you. He then resumed his discourse.

Among the artists who have passed their lives in composing and decomposing worlds, Leucippus and Democritus, rejecting numbers, ideas, harmonical proportions, and that scaffolding till then erected by metaphysics, admitted, after the example of some philosophers, only a vacuum and atoms as the principles of all things; but they deprived those atoms of the qualities ascribed to them, leaving only figure and motion.[f] Let us hear Leucippus and Democritus.

[f] Moshem. in Cudworth, c. i. § 18. t. i. p. 30. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1173.

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The universe is infinite, it contains an infinity of worlds and vortices which are perpetually producing,[g] perishing, and re-producing; but no supreme intelligence presides over these stupendous revolutions; every thing in nature is effected by mechanical and simple laws. Do you wish to know how one of these worlds is formed? Imagine an infinity of eternal, indivisible, unalterable atoms, of every form and size, hurried into an immense void by a blind and rapid motion.[h] After multiplied and violent shocks, the most unwieldy are detruded and compressed into a point of space which becomes the centre of a vortex; the most subtle fly off on every side and shoot to different distances. In a series of ages the former compose earth and water; the latter air and fire. This last element, consisting of active and light globules, extends itself like a luminous dome around the earth: the air, agitated by this perpetual flux of corpuscles, which rise from the inferior regions, becomes an impetuous current; and this current hurries along the stars which were successively formed within its bosom.[i]

Every thing in physics as well as morals may be explained by a similar mechanism, and without the intervention of an intelligent cause. It is from the union of atoms that the substance of all bodies is

[g] Diog. in Laert. Leucipp. lib. 9. § 30, &c. Id. in Democr. ibid. § 44. Bruck. ibid. p. 1175 et 1187. Hist. des Causes Premières, p. 363. [h] Aristot. de Gener. lib. 1. c. 1. t. i. p. 493; Id. de Cœlo, lib. 3. cap. 4. p. 478. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 3. t. ii. p. 877. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 24. t. ii. p. 416. [i] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 878.

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formed; it is from their figure and arrangement that cold, heat, colours, and all the varieties of nature, are derived;[k] it is their motion which incessantly produces altars, and destroys beings; and as this motion is necessary, we have given it in the name of destiny and fatality.[l] Our sensations, our ideas, are produced by thin images of every object, which are continually detaching themselves to affect our organs.[m] Our soul perishes with the body,[n] because, like fire, it is only composed of subtle globules, the continuity of which is broken by death;[o] and since there is nothing real in nature, except atoms and the void,[p] we are compelled, by a series of inductions, to admit that opinion constitutes the only difference between vice and virtue.[q]

Oh! my son, prostrate thyself before the Deity; deplore in his presence the wanderings of the human mind, and vow to be at least as virtuous as those philosophers in general were, whose principles tended to destroy virtue; for it is not in writings unknown to the multitude, in systems generated in a heated imagination, or produced by a restlessness of mind, or by the desire of celebrity, that you must study the ideas entertained of morals by their authors: it is in their

[k] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 1. c. 4. t. ii. p. 845. Diogen. Laërt. in Pyrrh. lib. 9. § 72. [l] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 10. [m] Diogen. Laërt. in Democr. lib. 9. § 44. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 899. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. c. 38. t. ii. p. 429. [n] Plut. ibid. c. 7. [o] Aristot. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 2. t. i. p. 619. [p] Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. 1. c. 30. p. 54. Id. adv. Log. lib. 7. p. 399. [q] Cudworth de Just. et Honest. Notit. ad Calc. Syst. Intell. § 2. t. ii. p. 629. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 1199.

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conduct, it is in those works, in which, attentive only to truth and public utility, they render that homage to morals and to virtue, which has been constantly paid to them in all ages, and in every nation.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

Continuation of the Library, Astronomy, Geography.

Callias departed after he had finished his discourse, and Euclid addressing me, said, I have been long endeavouring to find in Sicily the work of Petron of Himera, who not only admitted the plurality of worlds, but ventured even to ascertain their number.[r] How many do you think he reckoned? One hundred and eighty-three. Like the Egyptians, he compared the universe to a triangle,[s] sixty worlds are ranged on each of its sides; and the three others on the three angles. Governed by the peaceful movement which regulates certain dances among us, these worlds keep gradually approaching and changing places. The middle of the triangle is the seat of truth; there in a state of profound repose, the affinities and models of all that has been, or is to be, reside. Around these pure essences is eternity, from the depth of which time proceeds, and, like an inexhaustible stream, flows and is distributed among the multitude of worlds.[t]

These ideas were not very remote from the Pythagorean system of numbers, and I conjecture—Here I

[r] Plut. de Orac. Def. t. ii. p. 422. [s] Id. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 373. [t] Id. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 422.

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interrupted Euclid. Before your philosophers had gone so far in search of a number of worlds, they were acquainted doubtless with the most minute particulars respecting that which we inhabit. I suppose that there is not a single body in our heavens, whose nature, magnitude, figure, and motion, they have left undetermined.

That you shall judge of, answered Euclid. Imagine a circle, a sort of wheel, the circumference of which, twenty-eight times larger than that of the earth, contains an immense body of fire in its concavity. From the nave, the diameter of which is equal to that of the earth, torrents of light are continually escaping that illumine our world.[w] Such is the idea we may form of the sun. We may obtain one of the moon, by supposing its circumference nineteen times larger than that of our globe.[x] Shall I explain myself more simply? The igneous particles which arise from the earth fly off in the day, and collect in a single point of the heavens to form the sun; in the night they collect in several points and are converted into stars. But as these exhalations are quickly consumed, they are perpetually renewed to procure us every day a new sun, and every night new stars.[y] Nay it has sometimes happened that, for want of aliment, the sun has not been lighted for a whole month.[z] It is for this reason that the sun is obliged to turn round the

[w] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 20. t. ii. p. 889. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 55. Achil. Tat. Isag. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 81.
[x] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 25. p. 891. [y] Plat. de Rep. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 498. Plut. ibid. cap. 24. p. 890. Xen. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 54. Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. page 1154.
[z] Plut. ibid. c. 24. Stob. ibid. p. 55.

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earth; for if it were stationary, it would soon expend the vapours by which it is maintained.[a]

I listened to Euclid; I looked at him with amazement, and at length said to him: I have been told of a people in Thrace, so grossly ignorant as not to be able to reckon beyond the number four:[b] can it be of this people that you relate such absurd opinions? No, answered he, this is the theory of many of our most celebrated philosophers, and among others, of Anaximander and Heraclitus, the most ancient of whom lived but two centuries ago. Hypotheses, less extravagant indeed, but equally uncertain, have been since maintained, some of which have even produced popular insurrections. Anaxagoras having advanced, in the time of our fathers, that the moon was a globe of earth nearly similar to our own, and the sun an ignited stone, was suspected of impiety, and compelled to leave Athens.[c] The people wished to have these bodies placed in the rank of deities; and our later philosophers, by occasionally conforming to their language,[d] have disarmed superstition, which pardons every thing, provided it be not attacked.

How has it been proved, said I, that the moon resembles our earth? It has not been proved, answered he; it is only presumed. Somebody had observed that if there were mountains in the moon, the projection of their shade might possibly produce the spots we see on its surface. An inference was instantly

[a] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 2. t. i. p. 551. [b] Id. Probl. § 15. t. ii. p. 752. [c] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 815. Plat. Apol. t. i. p. 26. Plut. de Superst. t. ii. p. 169. Diogen. Laërt. in Anaxag. lib. 2. § 8. [d] Plut. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 821, &c.

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drawn that there were mountains, valleys, rivers, plains, and cities in the moon.[e] The next step was to become acquainted with its inhabitants. According to Xenophanes, these live in the same manner as we do on earth.[f] According to some disciples of Pythagoras, the plants in the moon are more beautiful, the animals fifteen times larger, and the days fifteen times longer than ours.[g] And the men, no doubt, said I, fifteen times wiser than those on our globe. This idea pleases my imagination. As nature is still richer in the variety than in the number of different species, I imagine, at pleasure, in the different planets, inhabitants with one, two, three, or four senses more than we possess. I then compare their men of genius with those to whom Greece has given birth; and I own to you that Homer and Pythagoras make but an indifferent appearance in my eyes. Democritus, answered Euclid, has rescued the honour of the human race from this humiliating comparison. Impressed, perhaps, with an opinion of the excellence of our species, he has decided that men are every where individually the same. According to him we exist at once, and in the same manner on our globe, on that of the moon, and in all the worlds of the universe.[h]

The deities who preside over the planets we fre-

[e] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 13 et 25. t. ii. p. 883 et 891. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 60. Achil. Tat. Isag. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 83. Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 39. t. ii. p. 51. Procl. in Tim. lib. 4. p. 283. [f] Xen. ap. Lactant. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. t. i. p. 253. [g] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 892. Stob. p. 60. Euseb. Prepar. Evang. lib. 15. p. 849. [h] Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 17. t. ii. p. 25.

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quently represent seated in chariots, as being with us the most honourable mode of conveyance.—The Egyptians place theirs in boats, their journeys being generally made on the Nile.[i] Hence it was that Heraclitus assigned to the sun and moon the form of the boat.[k] I wave troubling you with the detail of other conjectures, no less frivolous, which men have hazarded on the figure of the stars. At present it is almost generally admitted that their form is spherical.[l] As for their magnitude, it is not long since Anaxagoras asserted that the sun was much larger than Peloponnesus; and Heraclitus, that it was really no more than a foot in diameter.[m]

You render it unnecessary for me, said I, to interrogate you respecting the dimensions of the other planets; but you have at least assigned them their stations in the heavens?

That arrangement, replied Euclid, has cost much labour, and occasioned many disputes to our philosophers. Some place the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, above the earth: such is the ancient system of the Egyptians[n] and Chaldeans;[o] and such the system Pythagoras introduced into Greece.[p]

[i] Cuper. Harpocr. p. 14. Caylus, Recueil d'Antiq. t. i. pl. 9. Montfauc. Antiq. Expliq. Suppl. t. i. pl. 17. [k] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 22. et 27. Tat. Isag. c. 19. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 82. [l] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 461; c. 11. p. 463. [m] Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 21. t. ii. p. 890. [n] Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 37. p. 124. [o] Macrob. Somn. Scip. c. 19. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 9. p. 280. [p] Plin. lib. 2. c. 22. t. i. p. 86. Censor. de Die Nat. c. 13. Plut. de Creat. Anim. t. ii. p. 1028. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 9. c. 2. p. 277.

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The opinion most generally received at present arranges the planets in the following order: The Moon, the Sun, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.[q] The names of Plato, Eudoxus, and Aristotle,[r] have given a sanction to this system, which differs only in appearance from the former.

This difference arises from a discovery made in Egypt, and which the Greeks wish, in some measure, to appropriate to themselves. The Egyptian astronomers perceived that the planets Mercury and Venus, the inseparable companions of the sun,[s] are carried with the same motion as that luminary, and are incessantly turning round him.[t] The Greeks pretend that Pythagoras first discovered that the star of Juno or Venus, that brilliant star which sometimes appears after the setting of the sun, is the same that at other times precedes his rising.[u] As the Pythagoreans ascribe the same phenomenon to other stars and other planets, it does not appear that they have concluded that Venus makes her revolution round the sun from the observation of which they give the honour to Pythagoras. But it follows from the discovery of the Egyptian priests, that Venus and Mercury should appear, sometimes above, and sometimes below the sun; and that we may, without being guilty of an er-

[q] Plat. in Tim. t. iii. p. 38. Id. de Rep. lib. 10. t. ii. p. 616. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 2. c. 15. De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 602. [r] Procr. in Tim. lib. 4. p. 257. [s] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. Cicer. Somn. Scip. t. iii. p. 412. [t] Macrob. Somn. Scip. c. 19. [u] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 14. Pharor. ap. eund. lib. 9. § 23. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 55. Plin. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 75. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiv. p. 379 et 478.

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rer, assign them these different positions.[x] Accordingly, the Egyptians have not changed the ancient order of the planets in their celestial planispheres.[y]

Singular opinions have been broached in the Pythagorean school. In that work of Hicetas of Syracuse, it is maintained that the heavens, the stars, the sun, and even the moon, are at rest. The earth alone, by a rapid motion round its axis, produces all the appearances with which those bodies present us.[z] But in the first place, the immobility of the moon cannot be reconciled with its phenomena. Besides, if the earth revolved upon itself, a body thrown to a great height would not fall back on the same point from which it set out; yet experience proves the contrary.[a] And how shall we dare to disturb, with a sacrilegious hand,[b] the repose of the earth, so long considered as the centre of the universe, the sanctuary of the gods, the altar, the knot, and unity of nature?[c] In this other treatise, Philolaus begins by transferring to the fire the sacred privileges of which he deprives the earth. This celestial fire, become the pabulum of the universe, occupies its centre. Around it roll uninterruptedly ten spheres; those of the sun, the moon, the five planets,* that of our globe, and that of another earth invisible to our eyes, though adjoining to us.[d]

[x] Macrob. Somn. Scip. c. 19. Bailly, Astron. Ancien. p. 170. [y] Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, année 1706, Hist. p. 110. [z] Theophr. ap. Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 39. t. ii. p. 5. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 8. § 85. [a] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 470. [b] Plut. de Fac. in Orb. Lun. t. ii. p. 923. [c] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 97. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 51. * Prior to Plato, and in his time, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, were understood by the word planets: [d] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 51. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 3. c. 11 et 13. p. 895.

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The sun shines only with a borrowed lustre; he is no other than a kind of mirror, or crystal globe, which reflects back on us the light of the celestial fire.[e]

This system, which Plato sometimes regrets not having adopted in his works,[f] is not founded on observations, but solely on ideas of fitness. The substance of fire, say its partisans, being purer than that of earth, must necessarily repose in the centre of the universe, as the most honourable station.[g]

It was not thought sufficient to assign to the planets their respective places; the distances at which they revolve must likewise be ascertained; and in this research Pythagoras and his disciples have exhausted their imaginations.

The planets, including the sun and moon, are seven in number; an observation which instantly reminded these philosophers of the heptachord or seven-stringed lyre. You well know that this lyre comprises two tetrachords, united by one common sound, and which, in the diatonic genus, give the following series of tones: *B, C, D, E, F, G, A.* Let us suppose the Moon to be represented by *B,* Mercury will then be represented by *C,* Venus by *D,* the Sun by *E,* Mars by *F,* Jupiter by *G,* and Saturn by *A;* thus the distance of the Moon *B* to Mercury *C* will be the semitone; that of Mercury *C,* to Venus *D,* will be a tone; that is to say, the distance from Venus to Mer-

[e] Plut. ibid. lib. 2. c. 20. p. 890. Stob. ibid. p. 56. Achil. Tat. Isag. c. 19. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 81. [f] Plut. in Num. t. i. p. 67. Id. in Plat. Quæst. t. ii. p. 1006. [g] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 466.

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cury will be double that of Mercury to the Moon. Such was the first celestial lyre.

Two strings were afterwards added to designate the interval between the Earth and the Moon, and the distance from Saturn to the fixed stars. The two tetrachords comprised in this new lyre were sometimes supposed disjunct, and strung according to the chromatic genus, which gives proportions between the series of tones, different from those of the diatonic. Here is an example of this new lyre.[h]

FIRST TETRACHORD.

From the Earth to the Moon . . a tone.
From the Moon to Mercury . . a half tone.
From Mercury to Venus . . . . a half tone.
From Venus to the Sun . . . . a tone and a half.

SECOND TETRACHORD.

From the Sun to Mars . . . . . a tone.
From Mars to Jupiter . . . . . a half tone.
From Jupiter to Saturn . . . . . a half tone.
From Saturn to the fixed stars a tone and a half.

As this scale gives seven tones instead of six, which complete the octave, the interval from Saturn to the fixed stars,[i] and that from Venus to the Sun, is sometimes diminished by a tone, in order to obtain the most perfect of consonances. Other variations have been introduced into the scale by placing the sun below,[k] instead of above, Venus and Mercury.

[h] Plin. lib. 2. c. 22. [i] Censor. de Die Nat. c. 13. [k] Achil. Tat. Isag. c. 17. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 80.

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To apply these proportions to the distances of the heavenly bodies, each tone is supposed to be equivalent to 126,000 stadia;[l]* and assuming this for an element, there was no difficulty in measuring the space between the earth and the starry heavens. The space increases or diminishes as the calculator is more or less attached to certain harmonical proportions. In the preceding scale, the distance from the stars to the sun, and that of the sun from the earth, are in the ratio of a fifth, or of three tones and a half; but according to another estimate, both these intervals will only make three tones, or three times 126,000 stadia.[m]

Euclid, perceiving that I hardly listened to him with patience, said, laughing, You are not satisfied? No, answered I, what, must Nature be obliged to change her laws in compliance with your caprices? Some of your philosophers pretend that fire is purer than earth, and our globe forsooth must instantly resign her station, and remove from the centre of the universe. Should other theorists prefer the chromatic or diatonic genus in music, the celestial body must, to gratify them, recede from or approach each other. In what light do men of real knowledge view such extravagant reveries? Sometimes, said Euclid, as sports of the imagination;[n] sometimes as the only resource of men, who, instead of studying Nature, attempt to guess at her operations. As for myself, I only wished to show you, by this specimen, that our

[l] Plin. lib. 2. c. 21. t. i. p. 86. * 4762 leagues. [m] Plin. ibid. [n] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 9. t. i. p. 462.

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astronomy was yet in its infancy in the days of our forefathers;[o] nor is its progress much advanced even in the present age. But, said I to him, you no doubt have mathematicians who incessantly watch all the revolutions of the planets, and endeavour to discover their distances from the earth;[p] you have certainly had such observers in the earliest ages: what has become of the fruit of all their labours?

We have, it must be confessed, answered he, long reasoned on the subject; but we have made very few observations, and still fewer discoveries. If we do possess some accurate notions respecting the course of the stars, we owe them to the Egyptians and the Chaldeans,[q] who taught us to form tables which fix the periods of our public solemnities, and of our rustic labours. The nations I have mentioned are those who have paid attention to mark the rising and setting of the principal stars, the points of the solstices, as well as of the equinoxes, and prognostics which denote the variations of the weather.[r] I have collected several of their calendars, some of which are of a very high antiquity; others contain observations not applicable to our climate. A singular circumstance is remarkable in them all, which is, that they do not always fix the solstitial and equinoxial points to the

[o] Ricciol. Almag. lib. 7. p. 493. [p] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 4. p. 314. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 470. [q] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 109. Epin. ap. Plat. lib. 2. p. 987. Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 12. t. i. p. 464. Strab. lib. 17. p. 806. [r] Theon. Smyrn. ad Arat. p. 93. Diodor. Sic. lib. 12. p. 94. Petav. Uranol. t. iii.

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same degree of the same signs of the zodiac; an error which arises perhaps from some motions in the stars not hitherto understood,[s] or it may be from the ignorance of the astronomers.

Our astronomers have been employed for the two last centuries in the construction of these tables. Such has been the employment of Cleostratus of Tenedos, who made his observations on Mount Ida; of Matricetas of Methymna, on Mount Lepetymna; of Phainus, the Athenian, on Mount Lycabettus;[t] of Dosytheus, Euctemon,[u] Democritus,[x] and others whom it is unnecessary to name. The greatest difficulty, or rather the only problem they had to solve, was to bring back our festivals to the same seasons and terms prescribed by oracles and the laws.[y] For this purpose it was necessary to fix, as far as possible, the precise duration both of the solar and lunar year, and so to reconcile them as that the new moons, which regulate our solemnities, should fall near the cardinal points that mark the commencement of the seasons.

Various unsuccessful attempts prepared the way for the success of Meton of Athens. In the first year of the 87th Olympiad,* about ten years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war,[z] Meton, jointly

[s] Freret. Defense de la Chron. p. 483. Bailly, Astronom. Ancien. p. 191 et 421. [t] Theophr. περὶ Σημ. apud Scalig. de Emend. lib. 2. p. 72. [u] Ptolem. de Appar. in Uranol. p. 53. [x] Diog. Laërt. in Democr. lib. 9. § 48. Censor. de Die Nat. c. 18. Scalig. ibid. p. 167. [y] Gemin. Elem. Astron. c. 6. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 18. * The year 432 before Christ. See Note VIII. at the end of the volume. [z] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 2.

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with Euctemon, whom I have before mentioned,[a] having observed the summer solstice, imagined a period of nineteen solar years, containing 235 lunations, and in which the sun and moon returned to nearly the same point in the heavens.

Notwithstanding the sarcasms of the comic authors,[b] his labours,[c] or perhaps his plagiarisms, were crowned with most signal success: I say plagiarisms, for it is supposed, that he had found this period already in use among nations more versed in astronomy than we then were. Be that as it may, the Athenians caused the equinoxial and solstitial points to be sculptured on the walls of the Pnyx.[d] The beginning of their year corresponded before this with the new moon which happens after the winter solstice; it was now invariably fixed to that which follows the summer solstice,[e] and it was not until this time that their archons or chief magistrates entered into office.[f] Nor were the other people of Greece in general less ready to adopt the invention of Meton;[g] it is at this day made use of in forming the tables, which are suspended on columns in many cities, and which serve for nineteen years to represent in some measure the state of the heavens and the history of the year: for the points at which the seasons commence are

[a] Ptolem. Magn. Construct. lib. 3. p. 63. [b] Aristoph. in Av. v. 998. [c] Arat. in Διοπτρ. p. 92. Schol. ibid. [d] Philoc. ap. Schol. Aristoph. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 7. Suid. in Μέτων. [e] Plat. de Legib. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 767. Anvien. Arat. Prognost. p 114. [f] Dodwel. de Cycl. dissert. 3. § 35. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 94.

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marked on them for each year; as are predictions of the various changes of the air for every day.[h]

Hitherto the observations of the Grecian astronomers were limited to fixing the cardinal points and the rising and setting of the stars: but this alone deserves not the name of astronomy; the object of which is, by long observation, to attain a knowledge of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies.[i]

Eudoxus, who died a few years ago, opened a new field. A long residence in Egypt had enabled him to obtain a part of the secrets of the Egyptian priests; and he brought home with him the theory of the planetary motions,[k] which he published in several of his works. You will find on that shelf his treatise entitled the Mirror, another on the velocity of the celestial bodies, another on the circumference of the earth, and his Phenomena.[m] I was intimately acquainted with him: he never spoke to me of astronomy but in the language of enthusiasm. I could wish, said he, one day to approach near enough to the sun to be certain of the figure and magnitude of that luminary, though it were at the risk of experiencing the fate of Phaëton.[n]

I testified my surprise to Euclid that the Greeks, possessed of so much genius as they were, should be obliged to go in quest of information to distant countries. Perhaps, said he, we are not endowed with the talent of discovery, and our excellence may consist in

[h] Theon. Smyrn. in Arat. Phenom. p. 93. Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 740. [i] Epin. ap. Plat. t. ii. p. 990. [k] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. c. 3. [l] Simpl. lib. 2. p. 120. fol. verso, [m] Hipparch. Phenom. in Urinol. p. 98. [n] Plut. t. ii. p. 1094.

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embellishing and improving the inventions of others. We are not certain but imagination may be the most potent obstacle to the progress of the sciences. Besides, it is but lately that we have turned our attention towards the heavens, whilst the Egyptians and the Chaldeans have persevered in calculating their motions for an incredible number of ages. But the decisions of astronomy must be founded on observations. In this, as well as in other sciences, truth arises out of a multitude of errors, and perhaps it is better that it should be preceded by them, that, ashamed of their defeat, they may not again venture to make their appearance. Must I, in fine, to gratify your curiosity, betray the secret of our vanity? No sooner are the discoveries of other nations transplanted into Greece, than we receive them like those adopted children whom we treat with the same kindness as our own legitimate offspring, and to whom we sometimes give the preference.

I did not imagine, said I, that it was permitted to extend so far the privilege of adoption; but from whatever source you have your knowledge, may I be permitted to request you to give me a general idea of the present state of your astronomy?

Euclid then took a sphere, and pointed out to me the use of the different circles of which it was composed: he showed me a celestial planisphere, on which I observed the principal stars distributed into different constellations. All the stars, added he, revolve in the space of one day from east to west round the poles of the world. Besides this motion, the sun, the moon,

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and the five planets, have another which carries them from west to east in certain intervals of time.

The sun passes through the 360 degrees of the ecliptic in one year, which contains, according to the calculations of Meton,[o] 365 days and $\frac{5}{19}$ of a day.*

Each revolution of the moon contains 29 days, 12 hours, 45 minutes. The twelve lunations consequently give 354 days, and something more than the third of a day,[p] in our civil year, which is the same as the lunar, we neglect this fraction, and suppose only 12 months, some of 30, other of 29, in all 354 days. We next make our civil agree with our solar year, by means of seven intercalary months, which, in the space of 19 years we add to the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th years.[q]

You have yet spoken nothing, said I, of a kind of year, which being in general composed only of 360 days, is shorter than the solar, and longer than the lunar one. Yet we find it in use among the most ancient nations, and mentioned in your best authors.[r] How was it established? why is it still suffered to subsist?[s] It was first used by the Egyptians, replied Euclid, and founded on the annual revolution of the sun, which they at first made too short,[t] with us it received its origin from the duration of twelve lunations,

[o] Gemin. Elem. Astron. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 23. Censor. de Die Nat. c. 19. Dodwel. de Cycl. dissert. i. p. 5. * See note IX. at the end of the volume. [p] Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 2. c. 10 et 13. p. 58 et 62. [q] Dodwel. de Cycl. dissert. 1. § 35. [r] Herodot. lib. I. c. 32. [s] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 20. t. i. p. 877. Plin. lib. 34. c. 6. t. ii. p. 644. [t] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 4.

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which we made all equally to consist of 30 days.[a] In process of time, the Egyptians added five days and six hours to their solar year; and we, by retrenching six days from our lunar year, reduced it to 354, and sometimes to 355 days. I replied: You should have laid aside this kind of year as soon as you had discovered that it was defective. We never make use of it, said he, in affairs relative to the administration of the state, or the interests of individuals. On less important occasions, custom sometimes obliges us to prefer brevity to accuracy of calculation, and no person is deceived by it.

I omit the questions which I proposed to Euclid respecting the calendar of the Athenians, and shall only relate what he said to me concerning the divisions of the day. We learned from the Babylonians, resumed he, to divide the day into twelve parts,[x] varying in length according to the difference of the seasons. These parts or hours, which name we now begin to give them,[y] are marked, for every month on dials, with the length of the shadow corresponding to each of them.[z] You know that, for any given month, the shadow of the style, when a certain number of feet in length, gives such or such a time of day before or after noon;* and that when any business is fixed for the morning or evening, we appoint the time by referring,

[a] Petav. de Doct. Temp. lib. 1. c. 6 et 7. Dodwel. ibid. § 14.
[x] Herodot. lib. 2. cap. 109. [y] Xen. Memor. lib. 4. p. 800.
[z] Scalig. de Emend. Temp. lib. 1. page 5. Petav. Var. Dissert. lib. 7. cap. 9. t. iii. p. 145. * See note X. at the end of the volume.

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for example, to the tenth or twelfth foot of the shadow,[a] and this is the origin of the expression: What shadow is it?[b] You know likewise that our slaves are sent from time to time to consult the public dial, to inform us of the hour.[c] However easy this may be, attempts are making to procure us a more commodious method, and artists have already begun to invent and make portable dials.[d]

Though the cycle of Meton be more accurate than any preceding one, our modern astronomers have discovered that it stands in need of correction. Eudoxus has proved, after the Egyptians, that the solar year consists of 365 days ¼, and is consequently shorter than that of Meton by the $\frac{1}{76}$ of a day.[e]

It has been remarked, that at the time of the solstices the sun does not rise precisely in the same point of the horizon:[f] from whence it has been concluded, that he has a latitude, as well as the moon and planets;[g] and that in his annual revolution he deviates on each side of the plane of the ecliptic, which is inclined to the equator, in an angle of about 24 degrees.[h]

[a] Aristoph. in Eccles. v. 648. Menand. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 10. p. 243. Casaub. ibid. Eubul. ap. Athen., lib. 1. c. 7. p. 8. Hesych. in Δωδεκ. Id. et Suid. in Δεκάπ. Poll. lib. 6. c. 8. § 44. [b] Aristoph. ap. Poll. lib. 9. c. 5. p. 46. [c] Athen. lib. 9. c. 17. p. 406. Casaub. ibid. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 24. p. 1349. Hesych. in Πρατρ. [d] Athen. lib. 4. c. 17. p. 163. Casaub. ibid. Paciaud. Monum. Peloponn. t. i. p. 50. [e] Gemin. Elem. Astron. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 23. Strab. lib. 17. p. 806. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astron. Ancien. p. 237. [f] Simpl. de Cœlo, lib. 2. p. 120. [g] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 14. p. 14. p. 1002. [h] Eudem. Rhod. ap. Fabric. Biblioth. Græc. t. ii. p. 277. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astron. Anc. p. 242 et 466.

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The planets have celerities peculiar to themselves, and unequal years.[i] Eudoxus on his return from Egypt, threw new light on the periods of their revolutions.[k] Mercury and Venus complete theirs in the same time with the sun, Mars finishes his in two years, Jupiter in twelve, and Saturn his in thirty.[l]

The stars which wander in the zodiac have no motion of themselves, but are carried along by the superior spheres, or by those to which they are attached.[m] Astronomers formerly admitted of but eight of these spheres; that of the fixed stars, and those of the sun, the moon, and the five planets.[n] These have been multiplied since motions have been discovered in the celestial bodies which had hitherto escaped observation.

I shall not observe to you that it is supposed the stars must necessarily move in circles,[o] solely because the circle is the most perfect of figures: this would be instructing you in the opinions of men, and not in the laws of nature.

The moon borrows her light from the sun;[p] she hides from us that luminary, when she is between him and us; and she loses her own light when we are

[i] Tim. Locr. ap. Plat. p. 97. Plat. in Tim. p. 39. [k] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. c. 3. [l] Aristot. ap. Simpl. p. 120. fol. vers. De Mund. ap. Aristot. t. i. p. 612. [m] Id. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 461. [n] Tim. Locr. de Anim. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 96. [o] Simpl. de Cœlo, p. 120. [p] Pythag. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 8. § 27. Parmen. ap. Plut. in Colot. t. ii. p. 1116. Anaxag. ap. Plat. in Crat. tom. i. p. 409. Id. de Rep. lib. 10. tom. ii. p. 616.

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between her and him.[q] Eclipses of the sun and moon no longer terrify the people, since our astronomers are now able to predict them.

It is demonstrated in astronomy, that some of the heavenly bodies are larger than the earth;[r] but I know not whether the diameter of the sun be nine times greater than that of the moon, as Eudoxus has asserted.[s] I asked Euclid why comets were not classed in the number of planets or wandering stars? They are, replied he, by many philosophers: among others, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and certain Pythagoreans:[t] but the hypothesis does more honour to their ingenuity than their science; the gross errors it involves, sufficiently prove it is not the fruit of observation. Anaxagoras and Democritus suppose that a comet is no other than two planets which by their contiguity seem to form only one body; and the latter adduces as a proof of this, that when they separate, they continue to shine in the heavens, and present to view stars before unknown to us. As for the Pythagoreans, they seem to admit only of one comet, which appears at intervals, after having been some time absorbed in the rays of the sun.[u]

But what will you reply, said I, to the Chaldeans[x] and Egyptians,[y] who are indisputably very accurate observers? Do not they both concur in admitting the

[q] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 466. [r] Id. ibid. lib. 1. Id. Meteor. c. 3. t. i. p. 529. [s] Archim. in Aran. p. 451. Bailly, Hist. de l'Astron. Anc. p. 238. [t] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 6. t. i. p. 534. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 893. [u] Aristot. ibid. [x] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. c. 3. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 63. [y] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 73.

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periodical return of comets? Among the Chaldean astronomers, said he, some boast a knowledge of their course, others consider them as vortices which take fire by the rapidity of their motion.[a] The opinion of the former can only be an hypothesis, since it suffers that of the latter to subsist.

If the Egyptian astronomers have entertained the same idea, they have concealed it as a mystery from such of our philosophers as have consulted them. Eudoxus has never said a word of it, either in conversation, or in his works.[a] Is it probable that the Egyptian priests would have exclusively reserved to themselves the knowledge of the path of comets?

I proposed several other questions to Euclid, and learned from him that the astronomers were divided on almost all of them, consequently possessed but little certain knowledge.[b] I interrogated him respecting the Milky Way: he told me, that according to Anaxagoras, it was a collection of stars, whose light was partially obscured by the shadow of the earth, as if this shadow could reach the stars; that, according to Democritus, there exists in that part of the heavens a multitude of very minute stars near to each other, which, by mingling their feeble rays, produce that whitish glimmering which we observe there.[c]

After long travelling in the sky, we returned to the earth. I observed to Euclid that we had not brought back with us many important truths after so long a

[a] Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 7. c. 3. [a] Senec. ibid. [b] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 62. [c] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1. c. 8. t. i. p. 538. Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib. 3. c. 1. t. ii. p. 893.

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journey; we shall be more fortunate, no doubt, continued I, by confining ourselves to the globe we inhabit; for men must certainly be perfectly well acquainted with the place of their residence.

Euclid asked me how so ponderous a mass as the earth could maintain its equilibrium in air. I have never attended to this difficulty, answered I. It is the same with the earth, perhaps, as with the stars and planets. But, said he, precautions have been taken to hinder them from falling, by attaching them to spheres extremely solid, but as transparent as crystal: these spheres turn, and the heavenly bodies revolve with them: but we see nothing around us by which the earth can be suspended. Why therefore does it not plunge into the depth of the surrounding fluid? Some say the reason is, because it is not on every side environed by air. The earth is like a mountain, the foundations or roots of which extend themselves into the infinite profundity of space.[d] We occupy the summit of this mountain, and may sleep on it in safety.

Others flatten the under part of it, that it may rest on a greater number of columns of air, or float upon the waters. But in the first place it is almost proved to be of a spherical form.[e] Besides, if we make choice of air to sustain it, that is too weak; if of water, it may be asked what does that rest upon?[f] Our natural philosophers have lately discovered a

[d] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 13. t. i. p. 467. [e] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 7. t. i. p. 566. Id. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 471. [f] Id. de Cœlo, ibid. p. 467.

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more simple method of calming our apprehensions. By virtue of a general law, say they, all heavy bodies tend towards one given point, which point is the centre of the universe, the centre of the earth.[g] All the constituent parts of the earth therefore, instead of flying off from this centre, are continually pressing against each other to approach it.[h]

Hence it is easy to conceive that the inhabitants of this globe, and particularly those named Antipodes,[i] may adhere to it without difficulty, whatever position we assign them. And do you really believe, said I, that there are men with their feet opposite to ours? On that subject I know not what to say, answered he. Though several authors have given us descriptions of the earth,[k] it is certain that no man has ever yet travelled over it, and that our knowledge is confined to a very inconsiderable portion of its surface. One cannot avoid smiling to hear some philosophers advance, without the smallest proof, that the earth is every where surrounded by the ocean, and that Europe is as large as Asia.[l]

When I enquired of Euclid what were the countries known to the Greeks, he wished to refer me to the historians I had read; but I urged him with so much earnestness, that he at length continued as follows: Pythagoras and Thales first divided the heavens into five zones; two frozen, two temperate,

[g] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 470. [h] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 109. [i] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. c. 24; lib. 8. c. 26. [k] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 1, c. 13. t. i. p. 545. [l] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 8 et 36.

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and one extending to a certain distance on each side of the equator.[m] In the last century, Parmenides transferred the same division to the earth:[n] it is marked on the sphere before you.

Men can only subsist on a small part of the surface of the terraqueous globe, the extremes of heat and cold not allowing them to inhabit the regions near the poles, or those adjoining to the equinoctial line;[o] they have multiplied only in temperate climates: but many geographical maps have erroneously given a circular form to the portion of the earth which they occupy; the habitable world stretches to a much less distance from south to north, than from east to west.[p]

To the north of the Euxine sea we find the Scythian nations; some of which cultivate the earth, and others wander over their large domains. The countries still farther are inhabited by different nations and tribes, and among others by the anthropophagi —Who are not Scythians, said I hastily. I know it, replied he; and our historians have properly distinguished them from them.[q] Beyond this barbarous people, we suppose there are immense deserts.[r]

To the east, the conquests of Darius have made us acquainted with the nations which reach as far as the Indus. It is said that beyond that river there is another country as extensive as all the rest of Asia.[s]

[m] Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 53. [n] Strab. lib. 1. p. 94. [o] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 5. t. i. p. 562. Diogen. et Anaxag. ap. Stob. Eclog. Phys. lib. 1. p. 34. [p] Aristot. ibid. [q] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 18. [r] Id. ibid. c. 17. [s] Ctesias ap. Strab. lib. 15. p. 689.

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It is India, a very small part of which is subject to the kings of Persia, who annually draw from it a considerable tribute in gold dust.[t] Of the remainder we have no knowledge.

Towards the north-east, beyond the Caspian sea, dwell several nations, the names of which have been transmitted to us, with the additional circumstance, that some of them sleep six months together,[u] that others have only one eye,[x] and others again have the feet of goats;[y] you will judge from these stories of our geographical knowledge.

To the westward, we have penetrated as far as the pillars of Hercules, and have a confused idea of the nations inhabiting the coasts of Iberia; but to the interior part of the country we are utter strangers.[z] Beyond these pillars is a sea called the Atlantic, which from appearances, extends as far as the eastern parts of India;[a] it is frequented only by the ships of Tyre and Carthage, which are afraid even to venture out of sight of land; for after passing the strait, some descend towards the south, and sail along the coasts of Africa; others turn to the northward, and go to barter their merchandize for the tin of the Cassiterides islands, the position of which is unknown to the Greeks.[b] Par Albion.

Several attempts have been made to extend geography to the southward. It is asserted that by order

[t] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 4. [u] Id. lib. 4. c. 25. [x] Id. lib. 3. c. 116. [y] Id. lib. 4. c. 25. [z] Strab. lib. 1. p. 93. [a] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. p. 472. [b] Herodot. lib. 3. c. 115. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xix. p. 158.

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of Necos, who reigned about two hundred and fifty years ago in Egypt, some vessels manned with Phœnicians, took their departure from the Arabian gulf, made the circuit of Africa, and returned, after a voyage of two years, to Egypt, by the straits of Cadir.*[c] It is further alleged that other navigators have doubled this part of the world;[d] but these enterprises, supposing the accounts we have of them to be true, have been no further prosecuted. – Commerce was unable to repeat such long and dangerous voyages, in the hope of precarious advantage. Merchants have since contented themselves with frequenting the eastern and western coasts of Africa; and on the latter, the Carthaginians have established a considerable number of colonies.[e] As for the interior part of that vast country, we have heard of a route that entirely crosses it from the city of Thebes in Egypt to the pillars of Hercules.[f] It is asserted, likewise, that several great nations exist in that part of the earth, but we are not told their names; and you will naturally imagine, after what I have said, that they do not inhabit the torrid zone.

Our mathematicians tell us that the circumference of the earth contains four hundred thousand stadia:[g] I know not whether this estimate be just, but I am very sure that we are scarcely acquainted with one quarter of that circumference.

* The modern *Cadiz*. [c] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 42. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 309. [d] Strab. lib. 2. p. 98. [e] Hann. Peripl. p. 2. Scyl. Caryand. p. 53. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. Strab. lib. 1. p. 48. [f] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 181. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxviii. p. 303. [g] Aristot. de Cœlo, lib. 2. c. 14. t. i. p. 472.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

Aristippus.

THE day following my conversation with Euclid, it was reported that Aristippus of Cyrene, whom I had never seen, was just arrived. After the death of his master Socrates, he travelled into different countries, where he obtained the most illustrious reputation.[h] Many considered him as an innovator in philosophy, and accused him of attempting to establish a monstrous alliance between virtue and voluptuousness; yet he was every where spoken of as a man of superior understanding.

As soon as he came to Athens, he opened his school:[i] I introduced myself among the crowd; and in a private conversation which I had with him, he gave me nearly the following account of his system and his conduct.[k]

When young, the reputation of Socrates drew me to hear him,[l] and the sublimity of his doctrine retained me near his person; but as it exacted sacrifices of

[h] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristipp. lib. 2. § 79, &c. Vitruv. in Præf. lib. 6. p. 102. [i] Diogen. Laërt. in Æschin. lib. 2. § 62. [k] Menzius in Aristipp. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 584. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 1. [l] Plut. de Curios. t. ii. p. 516. Diogen. Laërt. in Aristipp. lib. 2. § 65.

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which I found myself incapable, I conceived that, without deviating from his principles, I might discover a more commodious path within my reach, by which I might obtain the summit of all my wishes.

He would frequently say to us, that as we are unable to comprehend the essence and qualities of external things, we are continually liable to mistake good for evil and evil for good.[m] This reflection astonished my indolent mind; placed between the objects of my hopes and fears, I was obliged to make a choice, without having it in my power to confide either in the appearances of these objects, from their uncertainty, or in the testimony of my senses, which are so deceitful.

I examined my own mind, and was struck with that propensity to pleasure, and that aversion to pain, which Nature had implanted in my heart, as infallible and manifest tokens to signify to me her intentions.[n] For if these affections be criminal, why has she bestowed them on me? If they be not, why should they not serve to direct me in my choice?

I had just seen a picture of Parrhasius, or heard an air of Timotheus: Was it necessary to know wherein colours and sounds consist, to justify the delight I had experienced?[o] and might I not justly conclude that this music and this painting possessed, for me at least, real merit?

Thus did I accustom myself to judge of all objects

[m] Xenoph. Memor. lib. 3. p. 777; lib. 4. p. 798. Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 88. [n] Diogen. Aristipp. lib. 2. § 88. [o] Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 24. t. ii. p. 32.

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by the impressions of joy or sorrow which they made upon my mind, to seek as useful such as procured me agreeable sensations,[p] and to avoid as injurious whatever produced a contrary effect. But remember that while I exclude both the sensations which afflict the soul, and those which transport it beyond itself, I make happiness solely to consist in a series of pleasing emotions, which agitate without fatiguing it; and that to express the charms of such a situation, I call it pleasure.[q]

Taking for the rule of my conduct this internal feeling, these two species of emotions I have mentioned, I refer every thing to self: I am connected with the rest of the universe by the sole tie of personal interest, and constitute myself the centre and standard of all things;[r] but, however illustrious this station, I cannot remain in it in peace, unless I adapt myself to the circumstances of time, place, and persons.[s] As I wish not to be pained either by regret or inquietude, I banish far from me the ideas of the past and future;[t] I live entirely for the present:[u] when I have exhausted the pleasures of one climate, I fly to reap a fresh harvest in another. Yet though a stranger to all nations,[x] I am the enemy of none: I enjoy their advantages, and I respect their laws; but even did no such laws exist, a philosopher would be careful not to

[p] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 86. [q] Cicer. de Fin. lib. 2. c. 6. t. ii. p. 107. [r] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 95. [s] Id. ibid § 66. Horat. lib. 1. epist. 17. v. 23. [t] Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 544. [u] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 6. [x] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. p. 736.

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disturb public order by the novelty and boldness of his maxims, or by the irregularity of his conduct.[y]

I shall now proceed to communicate to you my secret, and lay open to you that of almost all men. The social duties appear to me to be no more than a continual series of exchanges. I do nothing without looking for an advantageous return: I make a commerce of my genius and knowledge, of my attention and complaisance; I do no injury to my fellow-creatures; I respect them when I ought; I render them services when I can; I leave them in possession of all their claims, and I excuse their weaknesses. Nor are they ungrateful; my principal in this commerce is always repaid me with ample interest.

I have thought it proper, however, to banish those forms which are styled delicacy of sentiment, and greatness of conduct. I had disciples, and I required pay from them: the Socratic school was astonished at this,[z] and exclaimed loudly, without perceiving that it thus attacked the liberty of commerce.

The first time I appeared before Dionysius, king of Syracuse, he asked me what brought me to his court. I answered: The hope that I may be able to exchange your favours for my knowledge, my wants for yours.[a] He accepted the bargain, and presently distinguished me from the other philosophers at his court.[b]

I here interrupted Aristippus. Is it true, said I,

[y] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 68. [z] Id. ibid. lib. 1. § 65. [a] Id. ibid. § 77. Horat. Epist. 17. lib. 1. v. 20. [b] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 1. § 66.

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that this preference drew on you their hatred? I know not, replied he, whether they experienced that painful sentiment: as for me, my heart is steeled against it, as well as against other violent passions, more fatal to those who give way to them than to the persons who are their objects.[c] I never envied any thing but the death of Socrates;[d] and I took no other notice of one who insulted and endeavoured to irritate me than coolly to say to him—I withdraw; for if you possess the power of uttering ill language, it is in my power not to hear it.[e]

And in what light, said I, do you view friendship? As the noblest and the most dangerous of the gifts of heaven, answered he; its enjoyments are delicious, its vicissitudes tremendous; and ought a wise man to expose himself to losses, the bitterness of which would empoison the remainder of his life? You will learn from the two following anecdotes with what moderation I gave way to this sentiment.

I was in the island of Ægina, when I learnt that my dear master Socrates was condemned; that he was in prison; that the execution was delayed for a month; and that his disciples were permitted to visit him.[f] If it had been in my power to have freed him from his chains, I would have flown to his assistance; but I could do nothing for him, so I remained at Ægina. This is a consequence of my principles;

[c] Diog. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 1. § 91. [d] Id ibid. lib. 2. § 76. [e] Id. ibid. § 70. [f] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 59. Demetr. de Elocut. c. 306.

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when the misfortune of my friend is irremediable, I spare myself the pain of seeing him suffer.

I had formed an intimacy with Æschines, who, like myself, was a disciple of that great man. I loved him for his virtues; perhaps, too, because he owed me obligations,[g] and preferred me even to Plato.[h] Some difference happened between us. What is become, said some one to me, of your mutual friendship? It sleeps, replied I; but it is in my power to awaken it. I went to Æschines. We have been foolish, said I to him; do you think me so incorrigible as to be unworthy of pardon? Aristippus, answered he, you surpass me in every thing: it is I who am in the wrong, and you are the first to make advances.[i] We embraced each other, and I was freed from the little uneasiness our coolness had occasioned.

If I mistake not, rejoined I, it follows from your system that we should admit of convenient intimacies, and banish that friendship which renders us so susceptible to the sufferings of others? Banish! replied he, hesitating. Be it so! I shall say with the Phædra of Euripides: It is you who have pronounced the word, not I.[k]

Aristippus knew that the Athenians had been prepossessed against him; and as he was always ready to answer to the censures of those who disapproved

[g] Diog. Laërt. in Æschin. lib. 2. § 61. [h] Id. ibid. § 60.
[i] Plut. de Irâ, t. ii. p. 462. Diog. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 82.
[k] Euripid. in Hippol. v. 352.

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his conduct, he pressed me to give him an opportunity to justify himself.

You are accused, said I, of having flattered a tyrant, which is a horrid crime He replied: I have explained to you the motives of my visit to the court of Syracuse, which was then full of philosophers, who were setting themselves up for reformers. I adopted the character of a courtier, without laying aside that of an honest man. I applauded the good qualities of the Younger Dionysius; I neither blamed nor commended his defects, nor was it proper for me to do so; I only knew that it was easier to endure than to correct them.

My indulgent and easy character inspired him with confidence: a few happy repartees, which sometimes escaped me, amused his leisure moments. I never betrayed the truth when he consulted me on important questions. As I wished him to know the extent of his duties, and to restrain the violence of his disposition, I often said in his presence, that a well-informed man differs from another who is not so, as a courser, docile to the bit, differs from an ungovernable horse.[l]

On the subject of his mode of government I spoke with freedom, sometimes with indiscretion. Soliciting him one day for a friend, he would not hearken to me. I fell on my knees, and was censured by some for my servility. My answer was: Is it my fault if this man has his ears in his feet?[m]

[l] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 69. Suid. in Ἀρίστιπ.

[m] Id. ibid. § 79.

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Whilst I was one day requesting Dionysius in vain to grant me some favour, he thought proper to offer one to Plato, who did not accept it. I said aloud: The king runs no risk of ruining himself; he gives to those who refuse, and refuses those who ask.[n]

He often proposed problems to us, and suddenly interrupting us, gave the solution of them himself; He once said to me: Let us discuss some question in philosophy; begin.—What, said I, for you to have the pleasure of concluding, and of teaching me what you say you wish to know. He was piqued, and at supper ordered me to the bottom of the table. The next day he asked me how I had found that place. You intended, no doubt, answered I, to make it for a short time the most honourable.[o]

You are still further reproached, said I, with your taste for riches, for ostentation, good cheer, women, perfumes, and every species of sensuality.[p] That I brought with me into the world, replied he; and I thought that by exercising it with moderation, I should at once satisfy both nature and reason. I enjoy the comforts of life, and dispense with them without difficulty. I have been seen at the court of Dionysius clad in a purple robe;[q] but in other places I have worn sometimes a garment of the wool of Miletus, and sometimes a home-spun cloke.[r]

Dionysius treated us according to our wants. To

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. [o] Hegesand. ap. Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 544. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 73. [p] Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 544. [q] Diog. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 78. [r] Id. ibid. § 67. Plut. de Fort Alex. t. ii. p. 330.

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Plato he gave books: to me he gave money,[s] which did not remain long enough in my hands to soil them. I paid fifty drachmas* for a partridge, and said to some one who expressed his surprise, Would not you have given an obolus† for it?—Certainly.—Well, then, I think no more of these fifty drachmas than you would of an obolus.[t]

I had laid up a certain sum of money for my journey into Lybia; my slave who carried it was unable to keep up with me; I therefore ordered him to throw part of this heavy and incommodious metal into the road.[u]

An accident deprived me of a country-house that I was very fond of. One of my friends endeavoured to console me. Be not uneasy, said I to him; I possess three others, and am more satisfied with what I have left than grieved at what I have lost; it is for children only to weep and throw away all their play-things when one is taken away from them.[x]

After the example of the most rigid philosophers, I present myself to fortune like a ball, that she may roll about at her pleasure, but which giving her no hold is incapable of being injured. Does she place herself by my side, I stretch out my hands to her: does she spread her wings to take her flight, I render back her gifts, and suffer her to depart.[y] She is a

[s] Diogen. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 81. * Forty-five livres (1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) † Three sols (three halfpence). [t] Diog. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 66. [u] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 77. Horat. lib. 2. sat. 3. v. 10. [x] Plut. de Anim. Tranquil. t. ii. p. 469. [y] Horat. lib. 3. od. 29. v. 53 et 54.

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capricious female, whose caprices frequently amuse, but can never afflict me.

The liberality of Dionysius enabled me to keep a good table, to wear elegant clothes, and be served by a great number of slaves. Many philosophers, who professed a more rigid morality, loudly condemned me:[z] to which I answered only by pleasantries. Polyxenus, who imagined his mind to be the repository of every virtue, found me one day with some handsome women, and making preparations for a great supper. He inveighed against me with all the bitterness of philosophic zeal; I suffered him to go on, and when he had done talking, proposed that he should stay with us: he accepted the invitation, and soon convinced us that, if an enemy to expense, he was as fond of good living as his corruptor.[a]

In fine, for it is impossible for me to justify my doctrine better than by my actions, Dionysius sent for three courtezans, and gave me my choice of one. I carried them all off, alleging that the preference which Paris gave to one of three goddesses had cost him too dear. I afterward reflected, that the pleasure of possessing their charms would not be equal to that of subduing my passions, and sending them home, returned quietly to my own house.[b]

Aristippus, said I, you have entirely subverted every idea I had before entertained of your doctrine. I had understood that your philosophy required not

[z] Xen. Memor. p. 733. Athen. lib. 12. p. 544. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 69. [a] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 76. [b] Athen. lib. 12. c. 11. p. 554. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 67.

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so much as an effort; and that according to your principles, the voluptuary might abandon himself without reserve to all the enjoyments of the senses. And could you seriously imagine, answered he, that a man who considers the study of morality as the most essential of all others,[c] who has neglected geometry and other sciences merely because they have no immediate tendency to improve manners;[d] that an author from whom Plato is not ashamed sometimes to borrow maxims and ideas;[e] that a disciple of Socrates, in fine, could have opened schools of prostitution in many of the Grecian cities, without drawing on himself the vengeance of the magistrates and even the most corrupt citizens!

The name of pleasure, which I give to the internal satisfaction which renders us happy, has offended those superficial minds who attach themselves to words more than to realities. Certain philosophers too, forgetting their professed love of justice, have given sanction to this prejudice, justified perhaps by the extravagancies of some of my disciples: but does a principle of intrinsic excellence lose its value because it is possible to draw from it false conclusions?[f]

I have explained to you my doctrine. I admit as the sole instruments of happiness those emotions which agreeably affect us; but I wish them to be repressed the instant they are likely to produce trouble

[c] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. p. 79. [d] Aristot. Metaph. lib. 3. c. 2. t. ii. p. 860. [e] Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 11. p. 508. [f] Aristot. apud Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 31. t. ii. p. 512.

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and disorder:[g] and surely nothing evinces more courage than to prescribe limits at once to our privations and enjoyments.

Antisthenes attended the lectures of Socrates at the same time with me: he was born melancholy and austere; I cheerful and liberal. He proscribed pleasures and dared not enter the lists with the passions, which produce in us a delicious languor: I found it more beneficial and more glorious to vanquish than to excite them; and, in spite of their reluctance, dragged them in my train like slaves destined to serve me, and aid in enabling me to support the burden of life. We followed different paths, and this is the fruit we have gathered from our labours. Antisthenes thought himself happy, because he imagined himself wise: I think myself wise, because I am happy.[h]

It will be one day said, perhaps, that Socrates and Aristippus, both in their conduct and their doctrine, sometimes deviated from ordinary rules; but posterity no doubt will add, that they compensated for these little errors by the truths with which they have enriched philosophy.[i]

[g] Diog. Laërt. in Aristip. lib. 2. § 75. [h] Batt. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxvi. p. 6. [i] Cicer. de Off. lib. 1. c. 41. t. iii. p. 221.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

*Quarrels of Dionysius the Younger, King of Syracuse, with his Brother-in-law, Dion.—Voyages of Plato into Sicily.**

Since I had been in Greece I had visited the principal cities, and been a spectator of those grand solemnities which collect together its different nations. Not satisfied with these expeditions, Philotas and I resolved to examine all its provinces with more attention, beginning with those of the north.

The evening before our departure we supped with Plato, to whose house I went in company with Apollodorus and Philotas. We there found his nephew Speusippus, several of his old disciples, and Timotheus the celebrated general. We were informed that Plato was closetted with Dion of Syracuse, who had lately arrived from Peloponnesus, and who, when banished his country six or seven years before, had made a considerable long stay at Athens. In a few minutes they joined the company. Plato seemed to me at first disturbed and thoughtful; but he soon recovered his serenity of countenance, and ordered the table to be served.

Decency and neatness presided at this entertainment. Timotheus, accustomed in camps to hear of

* See note XI. at the end of the volume.

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nothing but sieges, battles, and evolutions, and in the mixed companies of Athens only of the navy and taxes, was sensible of the full value of a conversation maintained without exertion, and instructive without being tiresome. With a sigh he would sometimes exclaim: "Ah! Plato, how happy are you!"[k] The latter apologising for the frugality of our repast, Timotheus answered: "I know that the suppers of the academy procure a delightful sleep, and a still more pleasing awaking."

Some of the guests withdrew betimes, and Dion soon followed them. We had all admired his deportment and conversation. He is now, said Plato, the victim of tyranny: he will one day perhaps be that of liberty.

Timotheus pressed him for an explanation. Possessing as I do, said he, the greatest esteem for Dion, I am still a stranger to the real causes of his exile, and have but a confused idea of the intrigues that disturb the court of Syracuse. I have been but too near a witness to these convulsions, answered Plato. Formerly no man felt more indignation at the fury and the injustice sometimes displayed in our popular assemblies: but how much more dreadful and dangerous are those cabals, which, under the appearance of a perfect calm, are perpetually fermenting around the throne in those elevated regions, where to speak the truth is criminal, and to render it agreeable to

[k] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. c. 10. [l] Id. ibid. 18. Athen. lib. 10. p. 419.

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the prince a still greater crime; where favour justifies the villain, and disgrace renders the virtuous man culpable! We might perhaps have been able to restore the king of Syracuse to a sense of truth and justice, but he was vilely deceived and corrupted. It is not the fate of Dion I deplore, it is the unhappy destiny of all Sicily. These words still more increased our curiosity; and Plato, yielding to our entreaties that he would explain himself more at length, began as follows:

It is now thirty-two years ago * since reasons, too tedious to enumerate, induced me to travel into Sicily. Dionysius the elder then reigned at Syracuse. You know that this prince, formidable from his great abilities, employed himself, during his life time, in forging chains both for his own subjects, and for the neighbouring nations. His cruelty seemed to increase in the same proportion with his power, which he at length raised above all controul. He was desirous of an acquaintance with me, and, as he made the advances, was in expectation of some flattery; but he obtained only truths. I shall neither speak of his fury which I braved, nor of his vengeance against which I with difficulty guarded.[m] I formed a resolution not to proclaim his injustice whilst he was alive; and his memory now needs no new accusations to render him an object of universal execration.

At this period, I made a conquest which does

* About the year 389 before Christ. [m] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 324 et 326. Diogen. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 18.

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honour to philosophy in the person of Dion, who has just left us. Aristomache, his sister, was one of the two wives whom Dionysius espoused on the same day: Hipparinus, her father, had been long at the head of the Syracusan republic.[n] To the conversations which I had with Dion, that city will owe her liberty, if she is ever so fortunate as to recover it.[o] His superior soul expanded at the first rays of light, and, inflamed with the purest love of virtue, renounced, without hesitation, all the passions by which it had hitherto been degraded, with an ardour I never have remarked in any other young man, and with a constancy from which he has never swerved.

From this moment he conceived the highest indignation at the slavery to which his country was reduced;[p] but as he flattered himself that his example and principles made an impression on the tyrant, who could not help loving and employing him,[q] he still continued near his person, never ceasing to speak to him with freedom, and to contemn the malice and hatred of a dissolute court.[r]

Dionysius at length ended his days,* seized with terrors, tormented with distrust, and as miserable as he had rendered his people during a reign of thirty-eight years.[s] Amongst other children, he left by Doris, one of his wives, a son of his own name, who ascended the throne.[t] Dion embraced this oppor-

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 960. [o] Id. ibid. p. 959. [p] Plat. Ep. 7. t. iii. p. 326 et 327. [q] Id. ibid. p. 324 et 327. [r] Nep. in Dion. c. 1 et 2. * The year 367 before Christ. [s] Id. ibid. p. 961. [t] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 384.

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tunity to exert himself for the happiness of Sicily. He said to the young prince: Your father founded his power on the formidable fleets now at your disposal, on the ten thousand barbarians who compose your guard. These were, according to his expression, so many chains of adamant with which he bound in close union all parts of his empire. He was mistaken; I know no other bands indissolubly to unite them but the justice of the prince and the love of the people. How shameful were it for you, added he, if only able to distinguish yourself from others by the magnificence that is displayed around your person and in your palace, the lowest of your subjects should raise himself above you by the superiority of his knowledge and sentiments![w]

Not contented with giving wholesome instruction to the king, Dion paid every attention to the administration of government: he effected many useful regulations, and increased the number of his enemies.[x] These for some time exhausted themselves in ineffectual attempts; but it was not long before they plunged Dionysius into the most shameful debauchery.[y] Dion, unable to resist the torrent, waited for a more favourable opportunity. The king, whom he found means to prejudice in my favour, and whose desires in all things are impetuous, wrote to me several very pressing letters, requesting me to leave every thing and repair immediately to Syracuse. Dion in his letters added, that I had not a moment

[w] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962. [x] Epist. Dion. ap. Plat. t. iii. p. 309. [y] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 560.

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to lose: that it might now be possible to place philosophy on the throne; that Dionysius began to discover better dispositions, and that his family would readily join with us to confirm him in them.[z]

I reflected deliberately on these letters. I could place no confidence in the promises of a young man who in a moment flew from one extreme to the other; but ought I not to have some reliance on the approved wisdom of Dion? Was I to abandon my friend in so critical a situation? Had I devoted my days to philosophy, only to betray it when summoned to its defence?[a] Nay, I will not deny that I had hopes that I might be able to realize my ideas concerning the best of governments, and establish the throne of justice in the dominions of the king of Sicily.[b] Such were the real motives which induced me to depart;* motives very different from those which have been imputed to me by my uncandid censurers.[c]

I found the court of Dionysius distracted with commotions and dissensions. Dion was the object of the most atrocious calumnies.[d] At these words Speusippus interrupted Plato: My uncle, says he, does not choose to relate to you the honours which were paid him, and the success he had on his arrival.[e]

[z] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 327. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 18. [a] Plat. ibid. p. 328. [b] Plat. ibid. p. 328. Diog. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 21. * About the year 364 before Christ. [c] Plat. ibid. Themist. Orat. 23. p. 285. Diog. Laërt. in Epic. lib. 10. § 8. [d] Plat. ibid. p. 329. [e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 963. Plin. lib. 7. c. 30. t. i. p. 392. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 18.

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The king received him at his landing, and, placing him in a magnificent chariot drawn by four white horses, conducted him to his palace in triumph, amidst an immense multitude who covered the beach. He ordered that the gates of the palace should be opened to him at all hours, and offered up a pompous sacrifice to the gods in gratitude for their bounty, which had granted so great a philosopher to Sicily. The courtiers were immediately seen to anticipate reform, retrench the luxury of their tables, and attentively to study geometrical figures, traced out by different teachers on the sand, scattered in the halls even of the palace.

The people, astonished at this sudden revolution, began to conceive hopes; the king showed himself more sensible to their complaints, and men fondly recollected that he had obtained the title of citizen of Athens,[f] the most free of all the cities of Greece. Nay, it was further reported, that at a religious ceremony, when the herald, according to the usual form, addressed vows to Heaven for the preservation of the *Tyrant*, Dionysius, offended at a title which till then had never affected him, suddenly exclaimed: Wilt thou never cease to curse me?[g]

The partizans of tyranny trembled at these words. At their head was Philistus, who has written the history of the wars of Sicily, and some other works of the same kind. Dionysius the Elder had banished him from his states; but as he possessed eloquence

[f] Demosth. Litt. Philip. p. 115. [g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 963.

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and courage, he was recalled from exile that he might be opposed to Plato.[h] No sooner did he return, than Dion was exposed to the blackest calumny: his fidelity was rendered suspicious; and care was taken to put the worst construction on all his words and actions. Did he advise a reduction of the troops and galleys in time of peace, it was alleged that his design was to transfer the crown to the children of his sister by the Elder Dionysius. Did he engage his pupil to study the true principles of a just and wise government, the king, it was said, is only a disciple of the Academy condemned by a philosopher for the remainder of his life to search after a chimerical good.[i]

In fact, added Plato, the whole conversation at Syracuse turned only on two conspiracies: the one that of philosophy against the throne; and the other that of all the passions against philosophy. I was accused of favouring the former, and of profiting by my ascendancy over Dionysius, to spread snares for his inexperience. It is true, that, in concert with Dion, I did say to him, that if he wished to acquire true glory, and even increase his power, he should collect around him a number of virtuous friends, and invest them with the different offices of magistracy;[k] that he should rebuild the Greek cities destroyed by the Carthaginians, and give them wise laws, until a proper time arrived to restore them to

[h] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962. Nep. in Dion. c. 3. [i] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 333. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 962, &c. [k] Plat. ibid. p. 332 et 336.

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their liberty; in fine, that he should prescribe limits to his own authority, and become the king, instead of being the tyrant of his subjects.[l] Dionysius sometimes appeared to listen to our counsels; but his inveterate prejudices against my friend, perpetually increased and irritated by perfidious insinuations, were deeply rooted in his heart. During the first months of my residence at Syracuse, I employed every effort to remove them;[m] but, far from succeeding in my attempt, I perceived the credit of Dion evidently on the decline.[n]

The war with the Carthaginians still continued; and though it produced only some transient hostilities, it was necessary that it should be terminated. Dion, in order to inspire the enemy with a desire to end it, wrote to their generals to inform him of the first negociations they should enter into, that he might aid them in effecting a solid and permanent peace. The letter fell by some means into the hands of the king, who immediately consulted with Philistus, and, preparing his vengeance by profound dissimulation, affected to receive Dion again into favour, loaded him with marks of his bounty, and drawing him to the sea-shore, showed him the fatal letter, reproaching him at the same time with his treason, and, without permitting him to offer a single word in explanation of his conduct, forced him to embark on board a vessel, which immediately set sail.[o]

[l] Plat. Epist. 3. t. iii. p. 315, 316, 319. Plut. in Dion. p. 962.
[m] Plat. Epist. 7. tom. iii. p. 329. [n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 963.
[o] Id. ibid. Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 329.

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This was a thunder-stroke to Sicily, and threw the friends of Dion into the utmost consternation; the general apprehension was lest the tempest should burst on our heads. The report of my death was spread at Syracuse. But this violent storm was suddenly succeeded by a profound calm; and the king, either from policy or shame, sent a sum of money to Dion, which the latter refused to accept.[p] Far, however, from persecuting his friends, Dionysius omitted nothing to quiet their alarms:[q] his endeavours were particularly directed to soothe and console me, and he entreated me not to leave him. Though his prayers were mingled with menaces, and his caresses with fury, I invariably adhered to this alternative, that he should either consent to the return of Dion, or grant me my dismission. Finding himself unable to overcome my resistance, he commanded that I should be removed to the citadel in his own palace. Orders were dispatched on all sides to bring me back to Syracuse, if I attempted to make my escape; and all masters of ships were forbidden to take me on board, without an express permission signed by the king's own hand.

Though I was now made a prisoner, and strictly watched, Dionysius seemed to redouble his affection and attention to me.[r] He appeared so jealous of my friendship, that he was unable to bear the preference I gave to Dion; he demanded it with haughtiness; he entreated it as a suppliant. I was perpetually

[p] Epist. Dion. ap. Plut. t. iii. p. 309. [q] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 329. [r] Id. ibid. p. 330.

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exposed to the most extravagant scenes, which were one continued round of violence, excuses, outrages, and tears.[s] As our conversations daily became more frequent, it was rumoured abroad that I was his only favourite. This report, malignantly encouraged by Philistus and his party,[t] rendered me odious to the people and the army. The debaucheries of the prince, and the faults he committed in his government, were equally imputed to me as a crime: but these could with no justice be ascribed to me. Excepting the preamble to some laws, at which I had laboured from the time of my arrival in Sicily,[u] I had absolutely declined intermeddling with public affairs, even at a period when I might have shared the burthen with my faithful friend. Him I had just lost; Dionysius had thrown himself into the arms of a crowd of flatterers, plunged in every kind of debauchery; and this was the moment which I was supposed to have chosen to offer advice to a madman, who imagined that he governed, but who suffered himself to be governed by counsellors as wickedly disposed, and not less madmen than himself!

Dionysius would have purchased my friendship with gold; but I valued it at a higher price; I wished him to receive my instructions, and learn to become master of himself, that he might merit to rule over others; but he regards no philosophy but that which exercises ingenuity, and gives him an opportunity of displaying his abilities. When I talked to him of

[s] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964. [t] Plat. Epist. 3. t. iii. p. 315.
[u] Id. ibid. p. 316.

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that wisdom which regulates the passions, I perceived that he listened to me with pain and embarrassment. I saw that he was guarded against all that I might say; his counsellors having warned him, that if he admitted my principles, he must consent to the triumph and return of Dion.[x]

Nature has bestowed on Dionysius a lively penetration, admirable eloquence, a susceptible heart, generous emotions, and a propensity to what is right: but she has denied him consistency of character; and an education totally neglected,[y] preventing the growth of his virtues, has suffered defects to shoot forth which unfortunately abate his virtues. He possesses severity without tenaciousness, haughtiness without dignity. It is from weakness that he employs falsehood and perfidy, and passes whole days in the intoxication of wine and pleasures. Had he more firmness he would be the cruellest of men. I know of no mental energy in him, but the inflexible obstinacy with which he requires every thing to bend to his caprices: reason, opinions, sentiments, all must, when he pleases, be subordinate to his understanding; and I have seen him degrade himself by meanness and submission, rather than encounter the affront of a refusal or contradiction. If in his present studies he is eager to penetrate the secrets of nature,[z] it is only because he imagines nothing ought to be concealed from him. Dion above all is odious to him, because

[x] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 330.
[y] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 961.
[z] Plat. Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 313; Epist. 7. p. 341.

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he is continually thwarting him by his example and his counsels.

I was employed in fruitlessly soliciting that my friend might be recalled from banishment, and myself suffered to depart, when war breaking out anew, furnished him with other objects of attention.[a] Having no longer any pretext for retaining me, he consented to my departure, and we entered into a sort of treaty. I promised to return to him when peace should be concluded, and he engaged to recal Dion at the same time.[b] When the war was ended, he lost no time in informing us of the event. He wrote to Dion to delay his return for a year, and to me to hasten mine. I immediately answered him, that my age no longer permitted me to risk the danger of so long a voyage; and that since he had broken his promise, I considered myself as disengaged from mine. This answer was as dissatisfactory to Dion as to Dionysius.[c] I had then resolved to interfere no more in their affairs; but this rendered the king more pertinacious than ever in his project. He begged solicitations from every quarter; he never ceased writing to me himself; and procured letters to be written to me by my friends in Sicily, and by the philosophers of the Italian school. Archytas, who is at the head of the latter, was sent for to him:[d] he wrote to me, and his testimony was corroborated by other letters, that the king was inflamed with new ardour for the study of philosophy, and that I should expose those philosophers who resided in his

[a] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964. [b] Plat. Epist. 3. t. iii. p. 317; Epist. 7. p. 338. [c] Id. Epist. 7. p. 338. [d] Id. ibid.

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dominions to his resentment if I did not immediately return. Dion also, on his side, pressed me by repeated applications.

The king, however, will never recal him, for he fears him; nor will he ever be a philosopher, for he only wishes to appear one.[e] He imagined that my return to his court might procure him additional respect from those who really merit the name, and my refusal injure him in their opinion. This is certainly the true reason of the earnestness with which he pressed me.

I nevertheless thought it would be wrong to oppose my own opinion to so many others united against me. I should one day perhaps have been reproached with abandoning a young prince who stretched out his hand to me a second time to conduct him out of the maze of error; with resigning to his fury the friends I have in those distant countries; and with neglecting the interests of Dion, to whom I had so long been bound by the ties of gratitude, hospitality, and friendship.[f] His enemies had procured the sequestration of his revenues;[g] they were persecuting him to urge him to revolt; they excited the king to repeated acts of injustice towards him, that they might render him implacable. Dionysius wrote to me thus;[h] "We will first talk of the affair of Dion; with respect to which I will do what you think proper, and I hope that you will suggest nothing but what is just. If you

[e] Plat. Epist. 2. t. iii. p. 312; Epist. 7. p. 338. [f] Id. ibid. 7. p. 328. [g] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. Plat. Epist. 3. t. iii. p. 318. [h] Id. Epist. 7. p. 339. Plut. ibid.

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do not come, you will never obtain any thing for him."

I knew Dion. His soul breathes all the loftiness of virtue. He has patiently supported violence: but should his enemies, by dint of injustice, succeed in mortifying him further, torrents of blood can alone obliterate the injury from his remembrance. To a commanding figure he unites the most splendid qualities of the mind and heart;[j] in Sicily he possesses immense riches,[k] in every part of the kingdom innumerable partisans, and in Greece a reputation which would induce our bravest warriors to serve under his banners.[l] I foresaw the calamities ready to fall on Sicily, and it depended perhaps on me to avert or suspend them.

It was with reluctance I again quitted my retirement, to go, at near seventy years of age, to the court of a haughty despot, whose caprices are as tempestuous as the seas I had to pass; but there is no virtue without a sacrifice, no philosophy but in practice. Speusippus wished to accompany me, and I accepted his offer,[m] flattering myself that the embellishments of his mind might captivate the king, if the force of my arguments should prove insufficient to convince him. At length I departed, and safely arrived in Sicily.*

[j] Plat. Epist. p. 336. Diog. Sic. lib. 16. p. 416. Nep. in Dion. c. 4. [k] Plat. ibid. p. 347. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 960. [l] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 328. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 964. [m] Plat. Epist. 2. p. 314. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967. * In the beginning of the year 361 before Christ.

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Dionysius seemed transported with joy, as did the queen and the whole royal family.[n] He had ordered an apartment to be prepared for me in the garden of the palace.[o] At our first conversation, I represented to him, that, according to our agreement, the banishment of Dion was to terminate the moment of my return to Syracuse. On this he exclaimed; Dion is not banished; I have only removed him from the court.[p] It is time to bring him back to it, answered I, and to make a restitution of his estates, which you have put into the hands of faithless administrators.[q] These two articles were the subjects of long debate between us, and employed several interviews. In the mean time he industriously laboured, by presents and distinctions, to cool my ardour for the interests of my friend, and to draw me into an approbation of his disgrace:[r] but I spurned at advantages to be purchased at the price of perfidy and dishonour.

When I attempted to examine the real state of his mind, and his disposition towards philosophy,[s] he talked to me only of the mysteries of nature, and especially of the origin of evil. He had heard from some Pythagoreans of Italy that I had long studied that difficult question, and this was one of the motives which influenced him so earnestly to press my return.[t] He obliged me to state to him some of my ideas on

[n] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. [o] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 349. [p] Id. ibid. p. 338. [q] Id. Epist. 3. p. 317. [r] Id. Epist. 7. p. 333 et 334. [s] Id. ibid. p. 340. [t] Id. ibid. p. 338. Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965.

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the subject, but I took care not to explain them at length; nor, to say the truth, did the king seem desirous that I should;[u] he appeared much more disposed to make a parade of a few feeble solutions which he had borrowed from other philosophers.

In the mean time I continually recurred, but without effect, to the main object I had in view, that of effecting a reconciliation between him and Dion, than which nothing could be more essential to his true interests or the prosperity of his reign. At length, no less wearied with his evasions than he was with my importunity, I began to repent that I had been induced to make a voyage equally fruitless and hazardous. It was now summer; and as I wished to take advantage of the season to return to Greece, I declared to him that I could no longer remain at the court of a prince who was the implacable persecutor of my friend.[x] He made use of every art to detain me, and concluded by promising me one of his galleys; but as it was easy for him to retard the preparations, I determined to embark in the first vessel that should set sail.

Two days after he came to me, and said:[y] "All our differences turn on the affair of Dion; we must make an end of it. All I can do for him, from friendship to you, is this: let him stay in Peloponnesus, until the precise time of his return shall be settled between him, me, you, and your friends. He must give

[u] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 341. [x] Id. ibid. p. 345. [y] Id. ibid. p. 346.

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you his word to undertake nothing against my authority: he must make the same promise to your friends and his, and you must be all responsible for its performance. His property shall be conveyed to Greece, and deposited in such hands as you shall choose: the interest of it shall be at his disposal, but he shall not be allowed to touch the capital without your consent; for I have not sufficient reliance on his fidelity to entrust him with such powerful means of doing me an injury. I require of you, at the same time, to remain one year with me; and at your departure, the money belonging to him shall be delivered to you. I hope he will be satisfied with this arrangement. Tell me whether it be such as you approve."

I was much afflicted at this project, and demanded twenty-four hours to consider it. After balancing its advantages and inconveniences, I answered that I accepted the proposed conditions, provided Dion should approve them. It was therefore agreed that we should each of us write to him as soon as possible, and that in the mean time his property should remain untouched. This was the second treaty we had made together, and was observed with no more fidelity than the first.[z]

I had suffered the season for returning home to pass over; all the vessels were departed. It was impossible for me to escape out of the garden and elude the vigilance of the guard stationed at the gate. The king, now secure of my person, began to throw off all

[z] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 347.

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restraint. He one day said to me: We have omitted an essential article. I shall only send to Dion the half of his property; the other half I shall reserve for his son, whose natural guardian I am, as brother of his mother Arete.[a] I contented myself with observing that it would be proper to wait for Dion's answer to his first letter, and then write him a second, to inform him of this new arrangement.

In the mean time he proceeded to dissipate the wealth of Dion in a shameless manner; part of his estates he sold, how and to whom he chose, without deigning to consult me, or listen to my complaints. My situation became every day more insupportable, and was rendered still worse by an unforeseen event.

The guards of Dionysius, enraged at an attempt he had made to diminish the pay of the veterans, tumultuously presented themselves at the foot of the citadel, the gates of which he had ordered to be shut. Their menaces, their warlike shouts, and preparations for the assault, so terrified the tyrant, that he granted them more than they demanded.[b] Heraclides, one of the principal citizens of Syracuse, strongly suspected of being the author of the revolt, fled, and employed the influence of his family to remove the suspicions which had been instilled into the king.

A few days after, as I was walking in the garden,[c] I saw Dionysius enter with Theodotus, for whom he had sent: they conversed together for some time, and

[a] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 347. [b] Id. ibid. p. 348. [c] Id. ibid. p. 348.

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at length approaching me, Theodotus said: I have obtained for my nephew Heraclides permission to come and justify himself; and, if the king will no longer suffer him in his states, leave to retire to Peloponnesus with his wife and son, and liberty to dispose of his property. In consequence, I thought I might venture to invite Heraclides to repair hither; and I am going to write to him again. My present request is that he may appear at Syracuse, or in its environs, without danger. Do you consent to it, Dionysius? I do, replied the king. He may even reside with you in perfect safety.

The next morning Theodotus and Eurybius entered my apartment, with grief and consternation in their countenances. "Plato," said the former to me, "you yesterday were witness to the promise of the king. We have just heard that soldiers, dispersed on all sides, are in search of Heraclides, with orders to apprehend him. He is perhaps returned. We have not a moment to lose; come with us to the palace. I followed them. When we arrived in the king's presence, they remained motionless, and burst into tears. I said to him: "They are afraid that notwithstanding the promise you made yesterday, Heraclides may be in danger at Syracuse; for it is supposed that he is returned." Dionysius, foaming with rage, changed colour. Eurybius and Theodotus threw themselves at his feet, and whilst they were bathing his hands with tears, I said to Theodotus: "Be comforted, the king will never break his word with us."—I made you no promise, said he to me, with his eyes sparkling with fury.—"I

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call the gods to witness, replied I, that you did make the promise which they supplicate you to fulfil." I then turned my back on him and withdrew.[d] Theodotus had no other resource but privately to apprise Heraclides of his danger, who escaped with difficulty from the researches of the soldiers.

From this moment Dionysius threw off the mask, and pursued without disguise his project of possessing himself of all the estates of Dion.[e] He sent me out of the palace, and I was strictly prohibited from all intercourse with my friends, and all access to his person. I heard of nothing but his complaints, his reproaches, and menaces.[f] If I accidentally saw him, it was but to be the object of bitter sarcasms, and indecent pleasantries;[g] for kings, and courtiers after their example, convinced no doubt that their favour constitutes our only merit, cease to respect those whom they have ceased to love. I was warned, at the same time, that my life was in danger; and, in truth, some of the attendants of the tyrant had said that they would put me to death if they could meet me.

I found means to inform Archytas and my other friends at Tarentum of my situation.[h] Previous to my arrival, Dionysius had pledged to them his word, that I should be permitted to leave Sicily whenever I thought proper; and they had plighted their faith to me as a security for his.[i] I now claimed the protec-

[d] Plat. Epist. 7. t. iii. p. 349. [e] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 966. [f] Plat. ibid. p. 349. [g] Plat. ibid. 3. p. 319. [h] Id. ibid. 7. p. 350. [i] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 965. Diogen. Laërt. in Plat. lib. 3. § 22.

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tion of this engagement. Deputies from Tarentum soon arrived, and, after acquitting themselves of a commission, which served as a pretext for the embassy, they at length obtained my deliverance.

On my return from Sicily, I landed at Elis, and repaired to the Olympic games, where Dion had promised to meet me.[k] I related to him all that had passed, and concluded by saying: Now, judge for yourself of the power which philosophy has over the mind of the king of Syracuse.

Dion, exasperated at the additional injuries he had received in my person, suddenly exclaimed: The school of philosophy must no longer teach Dionysius; but that of adversity, and I fly to conduct him to it. My mission then, answered I, is at an end. Were my hands still able to bear arms, I would never take them up against a prince with whom I have partaken of the same house, the same table, and the same sacrifices; who, deaf to the calumny of my enemies, spared that life which was at his disposal; and to whom I have a hundred times promised never to countenance any enterprise against his authority. If at any time, returning again to pacific views, either of you stand in need of my mediation, I will, with pleasure, tender it to you; but so long as you shall meditate projects of destruction, look not to me either for counsel or assistance.[l]

For three years I have employed various pretexts to keep him inactive; but he has just declared to me

[k] Plat. Epist. 7. p. 350. [l] Id. ibid.

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that it is time to fly to the assistance of his country. The principal inhabitants of Syracuse, weary of the servitude under which they groan, wait only for his arrival to shake off the yoke. I have seen their letters: they neither require troops nor vessels; but solicit his name to authorize, and his presence to unite them.[m] They also inform him, that his wife, no longer able to resist the menaces and violence of the king, has been forced to contract a fresh marriage.[n] The measure is full. Dion will immediately return to Peloponnesus, where he will levy soldiers, and when his preparations are completed, pass into Sicily.

Such was the relation given us by Plato. We took leave of him, and, on the next day, set out on our journey to Bœotia.

[m] Plut. in Dion. t. i. p. 967. [n] Id. ibid.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

Tour of Bœotia.—The Cave of Trophonius.—Hesiod.—Pindar.*

TRAVELLERS may journey with the greatest safety in every part of Greece; there are inns in the principal cities, and on the great roads,[o] but strangers are fleeced in them without mercy. As the country is almost every where interspersed with hills and rising grounds, carriages are made use of only for short journeys; and then too it is often necessary to put a drag on the wheels;[p] in those of any length, mules are preferable,[q] and the traveller should take slaves with him to carry his baggage.[r]

Besides the hospitable reception which the Greeks in general are always ready to give to strangers, there are in the chief towns persons called *proxeni,* who are expressly appointed to procure it for them. These are sometimes individuals connected by commerce, or the bonds of hospitality, with the inhabitants of another city; sometimes persons invested with a public character, and appointed to be the agents of a city or

* See the map of Bœotia. [o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. p. 919. Æschin. de Fals. Legat. page 410. [p] Athen. lib. 3. page 99. [q] Æschin. in Ctesiph. p. 440. [r] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 410. Casaub. in Theophr. c. 11. p. 103. Duport, ibid. p. 385.

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nation, which has chosen them by a solemn decree, with the consent of the people to whom they belong;[s] lastly, there are others of them who manage at once the public affairs of some foreign city, and transact business for its private citizens.[t]

The proxenus of a city finds lodgings for its deputies, whom he accompanies every where, and avails himself of his credit to ensure the success of their negociations:[u] he procures likewise for such of its inhabitants as travel all the accommodations in his power. This assistance we experienced in many of the Grecian cities. In some places, individuals anticipated our desires,[x] in the hope of obtaining the good opinion of the Athenians, whose agents they wished to be, and of enjoying, if they should come to Athens, certain privileges annexed to that title, such as the permission to be present at the general assembly, and precedency at religious ceremonies as well as the public games.[y]

We left Athens at the beginning of the month Munychion, in the third year of the 105th Olympiad,* and arrived the same evening at Oropus by a rugged road, but shaded in some parts with groves of laurel.[z] This town, situate on the confines of Bœotia and Attica, is about twenty stadia distant from

[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 29. Id. lib. 5. c. 59. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 432. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 4. p. 485. [t] Ion. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 603. Demosth. in Callip. p. 1099 et 1101. [u] Xen. ibid. lib. 5. page 570. Eustath. ibid. lib. 3. page 405. [x] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 70. [y] De l'Etat des Colon. par M. de Sainte-Croix, p. 89. * The spring of the year 357 before Christ. [z] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 11.

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the sea.[a]* The duties on entry are collected here with excessive rigour, and extend even to provisions for the consumption of the inhabitants,[b] who are in general extremely reserved, and sordidly avaricious.

Near this town, and on a spot embellished by springs of limpid water,[c] stands the temple of Amphiaraus. He was one of the leaders in the Theban war, and as he performed the functions of soothsayer, was supposed to deliver oracles after his death. Those who come to consult him, must abstain for three days from wine, and from all sorts of food from twenty-four hours.[d] They then immolate a ram near his statue, stretch the skin before the porch, and sleep upon it; after which it is affirmed that the god appears to them, and answers their questions in a dream.[e] A great number of miracles are said to have been wrought in this temple; but the Bœotians are so credulous respecting oracles,[f] that it is impossible to rely on any thing they say on the subject.

At the distance of thirty stadia,† we arrive at[g] the town of Tanagra, situate on an eminence, the houses of which make a handsome appearance, the greatest part of them being ornamented with encaustic paintings and vestibules. The territory of this town, watered by a small river called Thermodon,[h] is co-

[a] Strab. lib. 9. p. 403. * About three quarters of a league. [b] Dicæarch. ibid. p. 12. [c] Liv. lib. 45. c. 27. [d] Philostrat. Vit. Apol. lib. 2. c. 37. p. 90. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 34. p. 84. [f] Plut. de Orac. Defect. t. ii. p. 4111. † Something more than a league. [g] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 12. [h] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 42.

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vered with olives and various kinds of trees. It produces little corn, but the best wine in Bœotia.

Though the inhabitants are rich, they are strangers to luxury and its concomitant excesses. They are accused of being envious;[i] yet we only observed among them sincerity, a love of justice and hospitality, and an anxiety to aid those unhappy persons who are compelled by necessity to wander from town to town. They fly from idleness, and, detesting illicit gain, live contented with their situation. There is no place in Bœotia where travellers have fewer impositions and extortions to apprehend.[k] I think I have discovered the secret of their virtues; they prefer agriculture to the other arts.

So great is their veneration for their gods, that they build their temples only in situations separate from the habitations of mortals.[l] They believe that Mercury once delivered them from the plague by carrying a ram round the town upon his shoulders; and they therefore represent him in his temple carrying a ram, and on the day of his festival perpetuate the memory of his beneficence by a ceremony in which a beautiful youth represents the god.[m] For the Greeks are persuaded that the offerings made to the gods, are more acceptable when presented by youth and beauty.

Corinna was of Tanagra, and cultivated poetry with success. We saw her tomb in the most conspicuous part of the town, and her portrait in the

[i] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. ap. Geog. Min. t. ii. p. 18. [k] Id. ibid. p. 13. [l] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 22. p. 753. [m] Id. ibid. p. 752.

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gymnasium. On reading her works, we are tempted to ask why, in poetical competitions, they were so often preferred to those of Pindar; but when we view her portrait, we inquire why they have not always obtained the preference.[n]

The Tanagræans, like all the other Greeks, are extremely fond of cock-fighting. These birds with them are of an extraordinary size and beauty;[o] but they seem less intended to perpetuate their species than to destroy it, for they breathe nothing but war.[p] They are conveyed to different cities for the purpose of fighting with each other; and to render their fury more destructive, their spurs are armed with points of bronze.[q]

We set out from Tanagra, and after travelling two hundred stadia[r]* along a rough and difficult road, arrived at Platæa, once a powerful city, but now buried beneath its ruins. It was situated at the foot of Mount Cithæron,[s] in the beautiful plain watered by the Asopus, where Mardonius was defeated at the head of three hundred thousand Persians. The Platæans distinguished themselves so eminently in this battle, that the other Greeks, as well in acknowledgment of their valour as to avoid all jealousy, decreed to them the chief glory. Festivals were instituted here to perpetuate the memory of this great event; and it was determined that funeral ceremonies should

[n] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 22. p. 753. [o] Columell. de Re Rust. lib. 8. c. 2. Var. de Re Rust. lib. 3. c. 9. [p] Plin. lib. 10. c. 21. t. i. p. 554. [q] Aristoph. in Av. v. 760. Schol. ibid. et v. 1365.
[r] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 14. * Seven leagues and a half.
[s] Strab. lib. 9. p. 411.

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annually be celebrated on the spot, in honour of the Greeks who fell in the engagement.[t]

Such institutions are very common among the Greeks: they are aware that monuments alone are transient records of illustrious deeds, or at best inadequate to excite others to emulate them. Monuments either perish or are unknown, and are frequently only proofs of the talents of the artist, and the vanity of those by whom they were erected. But general and solemn assemblies, in which every year the names of the heroes who have devoted themselves to death are repeated with a loud voice, while the eulogium of their virtues is pronounced by the ablest orators, and while their countrymen, proud of their relation to them, resort thither to shed tears over their tombs, these are indeed the noblest honours that can be decreed to valour. The following is a description of the ceremonies annually observed by the Platæans.

At break of day,[u] a trumpeter sounding a charge opened the procession: next came several chariots filled with chaplets and branches of myrtle; and after them a black bull followed by young men carrying vessels full of milk, wine, and different sorts of perfumes; then came the first magistrate of the Platæans, clad in a purple robe, holding a vase in one hand, and in the other a sword. The procession crossed the city; and when it arrived at the field of battle, the magistrate drew some water from a neighbouring fountain, washed the cippi or columns erected

[t] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 332. [u] Id. ibid.

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over the graves, sprinkled them with essences, and sacrificed the bull. Then, after putting up prayers to Jupiter and Mercury, he invited the shades of the warriors slain in the battle to partake of the libations; after which, filling his cup with wine, he poured out a part of it, and said aloud: "I drink to those valiant men who died for the liberty of Greece."

After the battle of Platæa, the inhabitants of that city united with the Athenians, and shook off the yoke of the Thebans, who considered themselves as their founders,[x] and from that moment were converted into their implacable enemies. This hatred they carried to so great a length, that having entered into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians, in the Peloponnesian war, they attacked the city of Platæa and totally destroyed it.[y] It was soon after rebuilt, and as it still remained firm in its attachment to the Athenians, the Thebans took and destroyed it a second time, about seventeen years ago.[z] No part of it is now remaining but the temples, which the religion of the victors had spared, a few scattered houses, and a large inn for the reception of strangers who visit this place to offer sacrifices. The latter is a building two hundred feet long and as many broad, with a great number of apartments on the ground floor and first story.[a]

We saw the temple of Minerva, built from the spoils of the Persians taken at Marathon. Polygnotus had there painted the return of Ulysses to his

[x] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 61. [y] Id. ibid. c. 68. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 362. [a] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 68.

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kingdom, and his slaughter of the lovers of Penelope. Onatas had also represented the first expedition of the Argives against Thebes.[b] These paintings still retain all their beauty. [c] The statue of the goddess is by Phidias, and of an extraordinary size; it is of gilt wood; but the face, hands, and feet, are of marble.[d]

In the temple of Diana we saw the monument of Euchidas, a citizen of Platæa. On this occasion we were told, that after the defeat of the Persians, the oracle had commanded the Greeks to extinguish the fires then burning in the temples, because they had been polluted by the barbarians, and to come to Delphi for that which they were to use in future for their sacrifices. All the fires of the country having therefore been extinguished, Euchidas immediately set out for Delphi, took some fire from the altar, and returning the same day to Platæa, before sun-set, expired in a few minutes after his arrival.[e] He had travelled one thousand stadia on foot;* an astonishing journey, which will no doubt appear scarcely credible to those who are ignorant how much the Greeks exercise themselves in running, and who know not that most of the towns maintain couriers,[f] accustomed to travel over extensive tracts of country in a day.[g]

Our road next lay through the town of Leuctra, and the city of Thespiæ, which derive their celebrity

[b] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 4. p. 718. [c] Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 331. [d] Pausan. ibid. [e] Plut. ibid. t. i. p. 331. * Thirty-seven leagues and a half. [f] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 106. [g] Liv. lib. 3. c. 24. Plin. lib. 7. c. 20. t. i. p. 386. Solin. c. 1. p. 9. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 316.

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from great disasters. Near to the former was fought that decisive battle which overthrew the Lacedæmonian power: the latter was destroyed, like Platæa, in the late wars.[h] The Thebans spared nothing but the sacred monuments, two of which attracted our attention: the temple of Hercules, which is served by a priestess restricted to celibacy during her whole life;[i] and the statue of that Cupid, sometimes confounded with the god of love, which is only a shapeless stone as it comes out of the quarry;[k] for it was thus the objects of public worship were represented in ancient times.

We slept at a place named Ascra, distant about forty stadia from Thespiæ.[l]* This is a hamlet insupportable to live in, both in summer and winter;[m] but it is the country of Hesiod.

The next day, a narrow path brought us to the sacred grove of the muses;[n] in our ascent we stopped on the brink of the fountain Aganippe, and afterward at the statue of Linus, one of the most ancient Grecian poets. This statue is placed in a grotto,[o] which resembles a small temple. To the right and left we viewed, with pleasure, the numerous dwellings built by the inhabitants of the country on these heights.[p]

Proceeding onwards, we next entered some beautiful alleys, and imagined ourselves transported to the

[h] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 362 et 367. [i] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 27. p. 763. [k] Id. ibid. p. 761. [l] Strab. lib. 9. p. 409. * About a league and a half. [m] Hesiod. Oper. v. 638. [n] Strab. lib. 9. p. 410. [o] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 29. p. 766. [p] Id. ibid. c. 31. p. 771.

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splendid court of the Muses; for here is it, in fact, that they manifest their power and influence in the most signal manner, by the monuments which decorate and seem to animate these solitary haunts. Their statues, executed by different artists, frequently present themselves to the eyes of the spectator. Here Apollo and Mercury are contending for a lyre;[q] there still breathe a band of celebrated poets and musicians, Thamyris, Arion, Hesiod, and Orpheus, around whom are various figures of wild animals attracted by the melody of his voice.[r]

A great number of tripods of bronze are seen on all sides, the illustrious reward of genius crowned at the competitions of poetry and music.[s] By the victors themselves were they dedicated on this hallowed ground: the traveller particularly remarks that gained by Hesiod at Chalcis in Eubœa.[t] Formerly the Thespians annually repaired hither to distribute prizes of this kind, and to celebrate festivals in honour of the Muses and the God of Love.[u]

Beyond the grove, and through flowery meads, flows a small river named Permessus, the fountain of Hippocrene and that of Narcissus, where it is related that this youth died of love, while contemplating his image in the placid waters of the spring.[x]

We were now on Helicon, that hill so famous for the pureness of the air, the abundance of its waters,

[q] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 30. p. 767. [r] Id. ibid. p. 768. [s] Id. ibid. p. 771. [t] Hesiod. Oper. v. 658. [u] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 30. p. 768. [x] Id. ibid. c. 29. p. 766; c. 31. p. 773.

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its fertile valleys, the coolness of its shades, and the beauty of the venerable trees which clothe its summit. The neighbouring peasants assured us that the plants which grow on it are so salubrious, that, after feeding on them, serpents lose their venom. [y]They attributed an extraordinary sweetness to the fruit produced here, and particularly to the andrachne.[y]

The Muses reign on Helicon. Their history is filled only with absurd traditions: but their origin is indicated by their names. It seems as if the first poets, enchanted with the beauties of nature, occasionally were led to invoke the nymphs of the woods, hills, and fountains, and that, yielding to the prevailing taste for allegory, they gave them names relative to the influence they might be supposed to have over the productions of the mind. At first three Muses only were admitted, Melete, Mneme, and Aœde:[z] that is to say, the meditation or reflection necessary to study; memory, which records illustrious deeds; and song, which accompanies their recital. In proportion as improvement was made in the art of versification, its characters and effects were personified, the number of the Muses increased, and the names they now received referred to the charms of poetry, its celestial origin, the beauty of its language, the pleasure and gaiety it inspires, the song and dance which add to it new charms, and the glory with which it is crowned.* Afterwards were associated with them the Graces, whose em-

[y] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 28. p. 763. [z] Id. ibid. p. 765. * See note XII. at the end of the volume.

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ployment it is to embellish poetry, and Love, who is so frequently its object.[a]

These ideas originated in a barbarous country, in Thrace, where Orpheus, Linus, and their disciples, suddenly appeared in the midst of ignorance. The Muses were honoured there on the Pierian mount,[b] and, extending their dominion, successively took their stations on Pindus, Parnassus, Helicon, and all those solitary places where the painters of nature, surrounded by the most pleasing images, experience the divine glow of inspiration.

We quitted these delicious retreats, and proceeded to Lebadea, situate at the foot of a mountain, whence issues the little river Hercyne, which forms innumerable cascades in its descent.[c] The town, on all sides, presents the eye with monuments of the magnificence and taste of the inhabitants.[d] We surveyed them with much pleasure, but were still more anxious to visit the cave of Trophonius, one of the most celebrated oracles of Greece; we were however prevented from entering it by an indiscretion of Philotas.

One evening, while we were supping with one of the chief men of the town, the conversation turned on the miracles of this mysterious cavern. Philotas testified some doubts, and observed that these wonders were in general no more than natural effects. I was once, said he, in a temple, when the statue of the god appeared covered with sweat: the people cried out,

[a] Hesiod. Theogon. v. 64. [b] Prid. in Marmor. Oxon. p. 340. [c] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 39. p. 789. Whel. book 4. p. 327. Spon. t. ii. p. 50. Pococke, t. iii. p. 158. [d] Pausan. ibid.

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A miracle! but I afterwards learnt that it was made of a wood which had the property of exuding a moisture at certain times.[e] Scarcely had he uttered these words, when we perceived one of the guests turn pale, and quickly leave the company: he was one of the priests of Trophonius. We were advised not to expose ourselves to his vengeance, by entering a subterraneous labyrinth, the windings of which are known only to these priests.*

A few days after, being informed that a Theban was about to descend into the cavern, we took the road of the mountain, accompanied by some friends, and preceded by a great number of the inhabitants of Lebadea. We soon reached the temple of Trophonius, situate in the middle of a wood, consecrated likewise to him.[f] His statue, which represents him as Æsculapius, is by the hand of Praxiteles.

Trophonius was an architect, who jointly with his brother Agamedes built the temple of Delphi. Some say that they contrived a secret passage, in order to steal, during the night, the treasure deposited in the temple; and that Agamedes being caught in a snare expressly laid for him, Trophonius, to avoid suspicion, cut off his head, and was some time after swallowed up by the earth, which opened beneath his feet.[g] Others affirm, that the two brothers having completed the temple, supplicated Apollo to grant them a recompense. The god answered, that they

[e] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 541. * See note XII. at the end of the volume. [f] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 39. p. 789. [g] Id. ibid. c. 37. p. 785.

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should receive it in seven days, and on the end of the seventh they were rewarded with death in a peaceful slumber.[h] Nor are the reasons assigned for the divine honours paid to Trophonius less various: almost all the objects of Grecian worship have origins which it is impossible to discover, and unnecessary to discuss.

The road leading from Lebadea to the cave of Trophonius is full of temples and statues. This cavern, excavated a little above the sacred wood, first presents a sort of vestibule surrounded with a balustrade of white marble, on which are placed obelisks of brass. From thence we enter a grotto hewn out with the chisel, eight cubits high and four wide.* In this is the entrance of the cavern, which is descended into by means of a ladder. When at a certain depth the person who descends finds a very narrow aperture, through which he must pass his feet, and when with much difficulty he has introduced the rest of his body, he feels himself hurried along, with the rapidity of a torrent, to the very bottom of the cavern. When he returns, he is thrown back, with his head downwards, with the same force and velocity. Cakes made with honey, which he is obliged to hold, prevent him from putting his hand on the springs employed to accelerate his descent or return; but, to remove all suspicion of a trick, the priests tell him that the cave is full of serpents, and that he can only secure himself from their bite by throwing to them these cakes of honey.[k]

[h] Pindar. ap. Plut. de Consul. t. ii. p. 109. [i] Pausan. lib. 9. p. 791. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. c. 19. * Height, 12 feet; breadth, 6 feet (English). [k] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 508.

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It is not permitted to enter the cavern but in the night, after long preparations, and a strict examination. Tersidas, for that was the name of the Theban who came to consult the oracle, had passed several days in a chapel dedicated to Fortune and the Good Genius, using the cold bath, abstaining from wine and every thing prohibited by the ritual, and feeding on victims which he had himself offered.[1]

At the beginning of the night, a ram was sacrificed, and the augurs having examined the entrails, as they had done in the preceding sacrifices, declared that Trophonius accepted the worship of Tersidas, and would answer his questions. He was conducted to the banks of the river Hercyne, where two youths of about thirteen years old rubbed him with oil, and made different ablutions over him. Thence he was led to two adjacent springs, one of which is called the Fountain of Lethe, and the other of Mnemosyne: the first effaces the memory of things past; the second imprints on the mind what is to be seen or heard in the cavern. He was next introduced alone into a chapel containing an ancient statue of Trophonius. After addressing prayers to him, Tersidas advanced towards the cavern clad in a linen robe. We followed, by the feeble glimmering of the torches that preceded him, till he entered the grotto, and disappeared from our sight.[m]

While waiting for his return, we listened attentively to the conversation of the other spectators,

[1] Pausan. lib. 9. p. 790. [m] Id. ibid.

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amongst whom were several who had been in the cave; some said they had seen nothing, but that the oracle had given its answer by an audible voice; others, that they had heard nothing, but seen appearances proper to resolve their doubts. A citizen of Lebadea, the grandson of Timarchus, a disciple of Socrates, related to us an account of what happened to his grandfather, which he had received from Cebes, the philosopher of Thebes, nearly in the precise words employed by Timarchus.[u]

I had come, said Timarchus, to inquire of the oracle what opinion ought to be entertained of the Genius of Socrates. At first I observed nothing in the cavern but the most intense darkness. I lay a long time prostrate on the earth addressing my prayers to Trophonius, without knowing whether I was asleep or waking, when of a sudden I was saluted by pleasing but inarticulate sounds, and beheld an infinite number of large islands illumined by a gentle light; they were every moment changing their places and colours, turning round on their axes, and floating on a sea, at the extremities of which rolled two torrents of fire. Near me yawned an immense gulf, in which thick vapours seemed to boil; and from the depth of the abyss proceeded the howlings of animals, confusedly intermingled with the cries of children, and the groans of men and women.

Whilst all these objects of terror filled me with consternation, an unknown voice said to me in a

[u] Plut. de Gen. Socr. t. ii. p. 590.

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mournful tone: Timarchus, what wishest thou to know? I answered, almost without being sensible of what I said; Every thing; for every thing here seems to me most wonderful. The voice replied: The islands thou beholdest at a distance are superior regions, and obey other gods; but thou mayest visit the empire of Proserpine, which we govern, and which is separated from these regions by the Styx. I asked what was the Styx. The voice answered; It is the road that leads to the infernal shades, and the line that separates light from darkness. It then explained the generation and revolutions of souls; adding, Those which are sullied with crimes, fall, as thou seest, into the gulf, and undergo a preparation for a new birth. I see nothing, said I, but stars in motion on the brink of the abyss, some descending, and others rising out of it. These stars, said the voice, are souls, of which you may distinguish three species; those which, being immersed in pleasure, have suffered their natural light to be extinguished; those which, having alternately struggled against reason and the passions, are neither entirely pure nor totally corrupted; and those which, taking reason only for their guide, have retained all the marks of their original. Thou seest the first in those stars which seem to thee extinct; the second, in those whose splendour is obscured by vapours which they appear to be shaking from them; and the third, in the stars which, shining with a vivid light, rise above the others. These last are genii, and animate the happy mortals who hold intimate converse with the gods. After enlarging a little on these ideas, the voice said to me:

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Young man, thou shalt know this doctrine better in three months; thou art at liberty to depart. It was then silent: I attempted to turn round to see from whence it came, but was instantly struck with a violent pain in my head, as if somebody had forcibly squeezed it. I fainted away, and, when I recovered, found myself out of the cavern. Such was the narrative of Timarchus. His grandson added, that his grandfather died three months after his return to Athens, as the oracle had predicted.

We passed the night, and part of the next day, in listening to similar narrations. By comparing them, it was no difficult matter to discover that the priests introduced themselves into the cavern by secret passages, and added violence to their juggling tricks, in order to disturb the imagination of the persons who came to consult the oracle. These remain some a longer and some a shorter time in the cavern;[o] nay, some have been known to sleep in it during two nights and a day.[p]

It was now noon; Tersidas did not appear, and we continued to stroll about the grotto. An hour after we saw the crowd tumultuously flocking towards the balustrade: we followed them, and perceived our Theban supported by priests, who were forcing him down on a seat, called the seat of Mnemosyne, where he was to relate what he had seen and heard in the cave. He appeared in the utmost terror, and his eyes were so dim that he was incapable of distinguish-

[o] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 508.

[p] Plut. de Gen. Socrat. t. ii. p. 500.

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ing any person. After having procured from him a few broken words, which were considered as the answer of the oracle, his attendants conducted him into the chapel of the Good Genius and Fortune. He there gradually recovered his spirits;[q] but had only a few faint ideas of what had passed in the cavern, and probably a very dreadful impression of the terrors he had felt: for this oracle is not to be consulted with impunity: the greater part of those who return from the cavern, retain for their whole lives an air of melancholy that nothing can remove, and which has given occasion to the proverbial expression, by which we say of a person remarkably melancholy or gloomy, He comes from the cave of Trophonius.[r] Among the vast number of oracles with which Bœotia abounds, there is none where the imposture is more palpable and easy to be seen through; nor is there any which is more frequented.

We descended the mountain, and a few days after took the road to Thebes. We passed by Chæronea, the inhabitants of which have, for the principal object of their worship, the sceptre which Vulcan forged by order of Jupiter, and which from Pelops passed successively into the hands of Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon. It is not worshipped in a temple, but in the house of a priest: sacrifices are offered to it every day, and it is supplied with a plentiful table.[s]

From Chæronea we proceeded to Thebes, crossing in our way woods, hills, fertile plains, and several

[q] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 39. p. 792. [r] Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. v. 108. [s] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 40. p. 795.

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little rivers. This city, one of the most considerable in Greece, is surrounded with walls, and defended by towers. It has seven gates,[t] and is forty-three stadia[u]* in circumference.† The citadel stands on an eminence, where the first inhabitants of Thebes originally formed their settlement, and from whence flows a spring, which has been conveyed to the city, from the remotest periods, by subterraneous channels.[x]

The environs are embellished by two rivers, by meadows, and gardens. The streets, like those of all ancient cities, are irregular.[y] Among other magnificent decorations of the public edifices, we find statues of the greatest beauty. In the temple of Hercules I viewed with admiration the colossal figure of that god, by Alcamenes; and his labours, by Praxiteles:[z] in that of the Ismenian Apollo, the Mercury of Phidias, and the Minerva of Scopas.[a] As I perceived that monuments had been erected in honour of illustrious Thebans, I inquired for the statue of Pindar. I was told there was none; but was shown that of Cleon, the most skilful singer of his time. I approached, and learned from the inscription that Cleon had done honour to his country.[b]

In the temple of Apollo Ismenius, amidst a great number of brazen tripods, most of which are of excellent workmanship, we see one of gold, an offering

[t] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 8. p. 727. [u] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. v. 95. p. 7. * One league 1563 toises. † See Note XIV. at the end of the volume. [x] Dicæarch. ibid. p. 15. [y] Id. ibid. [z] Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 11. p. 732. [a] Id. ibid. cap. 10. p. 730. [b] Athen. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 19.

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from Crœsus king of Lydia.[c] These tripods have been presented by nations and individuals. Perfumes are burnt on them; and as they are of an elegant make, they serve as ornaments in the temples.

Thebes, as well as the greater part of the cities of Greece, contains a theatre,[d] a gymnasium or place of exercise for youth,[e] and a large public square or forum. The latter is surrounded by temples and many other edifices, the walls of which are covered with arms taken from the Athenians by the Thebans at the battle of Delium. From the produce of the remainder of these glorious spoils was built, on the same spot, a magnificent portico, decorated with a great number of brazen statues.[f]

The city is extremely populous;* its inhabitants, like those of Athens, are divided into three classes; the first of which is composed of citizens, the second of naturalized foreigners, and the third of the slaves.[g] Two parties, hostile to each other, have occasioned frequent revolutions in the government.[h] The one, in secret correspondence with the Lacedæmonians, wished to establish an oligarchy; the other, favoured by the Athenians, was friendly to a democracy.[i] The partisans of the latter system have prevailed of late years,[k] and the authority is now vested absolutely in the people.[l]

[c] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 92. [d] Liv. lib. 33. c. 28. [e] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 366. [f] Id. ibid. lib. 12. p. 119. * See note XV. at the end of the volume. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 495. [h] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 62. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 3. t. ii. p. 388. [i] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 280. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 388. [l] Demosth. in Lept. p. 556. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 488.

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Thebes is not only the great fortress of Bœotia,[m] but may be said to be its capital. It is at the head of a powerful confederacy composed of the chief cities of Bœotia; all of which possess the right of sending deputies to the assembly, in which affairs of the state are finally determined, after having been discussed in four different councils.[n] At this assembly preside eleven chiefs, known by the name of Bœotarchs,[o] to which station they are elected by the assembly itself. They have great influence in all deliberations, and generally have the command of the armies.[p] Such a power would be dangerous were it permanent; but those invested with it must resign it at the end of the year, under pain of death, even were they at the head of a victorious army, and on the eve of obtaining the most signal advantages.[q]

All the Bœotian cities have claims and just titles to independence; but in despite of all their efforts, and those of the other nations of Greece, the Thebans have never suffered them to enjoy a complete state of freedom.[r] With respect to the cities they have founded, the Thebans assert the right which other countries exercise over their colonies:[s] to the others they oppose force,[t] too often the most valid title, or possession, which is the most indisputable of all. They have de-

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 342. [n] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 38. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 389. Liv. lib. 36. c. 6. [o] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 91. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. page 368. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. page 288. [q] Plut. ibid. p. 290. [r] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 594. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 355, 367, 381, &c. [s] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 61 et 62. [t] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 62.

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stroyed Thespiæ and Platæa for separating from the Bœotian league, the resolutions and operations of which are now entirely at their devotion,[w] and which can bring into the field twenty thousand men.[x]

This power is more formidable, as the Bœotians are in general brave, inured to war, and elated with the victories they gained under Epaminondas. They possess surprising bodily strength, and are continually increasing it by the exercises of the gymnasium.[y]

The country they inhabit is more fertile than Attica,[z] and produces a great quantity of corn of an excellent quality.[a] By the happy situation of their ports, they are enabled to trade on one side with Italy, Sicily, and Africa; and on the other with Egypt, the isle of Cyprus, Macedonia, and the Hellespont.[b]

Besides the festivals which are common to the whole state, and which assemble all its people in the plains of Coronea, near the temple of Minerva,[c] others are frequently celebrated which are peculiar to each city; and the Thebans in particular have instituted several at which I have been present. I shall speak however but of one ceremony practised at the festival of the Laurel Boughs. This was a procession which I saw arrive at the temple of the Ismenian Apollo. The priest of this god is changed every year; and

[w] Xen. ibid. lib. 5. page 558. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. page 389.
[x] Xen. Memor. lib. 3. page 767. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. page 119.
[y] Diod. ibid. et lib. 15. p. 341 et 366. [z] Strab. lib. 9. p. 400.
[a] Plin. lib. 18. t. ii. p. 107. [b] Strab. ibid. [c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 411. Plut. Amat. Narrat. t. ii. p. 774. Pausan. lib. 9. c. 34. p. 778.

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besides possessing an elegant figure, must be young, and of a good family.[d] In the procession at which I was present, the priest appeared with a golden crown upon his head, a branch of laurel in his hand, his hair flowing on his shoulders, and dressed in a magnificent robe,[e] followed by a chorus of young damsels, also carrying laurel branches, and singing hymns. He was preceded by one of his relations, a young man, bearing in his hand a long olive bough covered with flowers and leaves of laurel, and the procession was closed by a globe of brass representing the sun. To this globe were suspended several smaller balls of the same metal to denote the stars, and three hundred and sixty-five purple streamers, emblematical of the days of the year; the moon likewise was represented by a smaller globe placed below the first. As the festival was in honour of Apollo or the sun, the design of this trophy was to signify the pre-eminence of that luminary above all the others. A victory formerly gained over the inhabitants of Arne first gave rise to this solemnity.

Among the laws of the Thebans there are some which deserve to be mentioned. One prohibits the promotion of any citizen to the magistracy who has not quitted the retail trade for the space of ten years;[f] another inflicts a penalty on painters and sculptors who do not treat their subjects with proper decency;[g] by a third it is forbidden to expose children at their birth,[h]

[d] Pausan. ibid. c. 10. p. 730. [e] Procl. Chrestom. ap. Phot. p. 998. [f] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 5. t. ii. p. 344. [g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 4. [h] Id. ibid. lib. 2. c. 7.

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as is practised in some Grecian cities.[j] The father must present them to the magistrate, with proof that he is himself unable to bring them up; the magistrate then gives them to any person who is willing to purchase them for a trifling sum, with power to place them in the number of his slaves.[k] The Thebans grant the liberty of redemption to captives taken in war, unless they be natives of Bœotia, in which case they are put to death.[l]

The air is remarkably pure in Attica, and very gross in Bœotia,[m] though this country be separated from the former only by Mount Cithæron. This difference seems to produce a dissimilarity of character, and to confirm the observations of philosophers on the influence of climate;[n] for the Bœotians in general have neither that penetration nor vivacity which characterize the Athenians, though we ought perhaps to attribute this more to education than to nature. If they appear heavy and stupid,[o] it is because they are ignorant and clownish. As they employ their time more in bodily than mental exercises,[p] they possess neither the gift of facility of expression,[q] the graces of elocution,[r] the knowledge derived from

[j] Pet. Leg. Att. p. 144. [k] Ælian. ibid. [l] Pausan. lib. 9, p. 740. [m] Cicer. de Fat. c. 4. t. iii. p. 101. [n] Hippocr. de Aër. Loc. Aq. c. 55, &c. Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 747. Aristot. Probl. 14. t. ii. p. 750. [o] Pind. Olymp. 6. v. 152. Demosth. de Cor. p. 479. Plut. de Usu. Carn. t. ii. p. 995. Dionys. Halicarn. de Rhet. t. v. p. 402. Cicer. de Fat. c. 4. t. iii. p. 101. [p] Nep. in Alcib. c. 11. [q] Plat. in Conv. t. iii. p. 182. [r] Lucian. in Jov. Trag. t. ii. p. 679. Schol. ibid.

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study,[s] nor those pleasing manners which are more the work of art than nature.

It must not be supposed however that Bœotia has produced no men of genius: several Thebans have done honour to the school of Socrates.[t] Epaminondas was not less distinguished for his knowledge than for his military talents.[u] In my journey I met with a number of very intelligent persons; among others Anaxis and Dionysiodorus, who jointly composed a new history of Greece.[x] It is also to be remembered that Bœotia was the birth-place of Hesiod, Corinna, and Pindar.

Hesiod has left a celebrated name, and works in great estimation. As he is supposed to have been contemporary with Homer,[y] some have imagined that he was his rival; but Homer could have no rivals.

The theogony of Hesiod, like that of many ancient Greek writers, is only a tissue of absurd ideas or impenetrable allegories.

The tradition of the people who dwell in the neighbourhood of Helicon rejects the works ascribed to him, with the exception of an epistle addressed to his brother Perses,[z] to exhort him to industry. He reminds him of the example of their father, who provided for his family by several times exposing his life in a trading vessel, and who, towards the end of his days, quitted the city of Cyme, in Æolia, to settle in

[s] Strab. lib. 9. p. 401. [t] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 124. [u] Nep. in Epam. c. 2. [x] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 403. [y] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 53. Marmore. Oxon. Epoch. 29 et 30. [z] Pausan. lib. 9. c. 31. p. 771.

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the vicinity of Helicon.[a] Besides just reflections on the various duties of men,[b] and painful remarks on their injustice, Hesiod has interspersed in this work many precepts relative to agriculture,[c] the more interesting, as no preceding author had treated of this art.[d]

He never travelled;[e] but cultivated poetry to an extreme old age.[f] His elegant and harmonious style captivates the ear,[g] and breathes that genuine ancient simplicity, which consists in precisely suiting the thoughts, and the words in which they are expressed, to the subject.

Hesiod excelled in that sort of poetry which requires little elevation;[h] Pindar in that which soars.[i] The latter flourished at the time of the expedition of Xerxes,[k] and lived to the age of about sixty-five.[l] He studied poetry and music under different teachers, and particularly under Myrtis, a woman distinguished for her talents, and still more celebrated for numbering among her scholars Pindar and the beautiful Corinna.[m] These pupils were connected at least by a love of the arts. Pindar, who was the youngest of the two, never neglected to consult Corinna. Having learnt from her that poetry should enrich itself with

[a] Hesiod. Oper. et Dies. v. 633. [b] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. p. 466. Cicer. ad Famil. lib. 6. epist. 18. t. vii. p. 213. [c] Hesiod. ibid. v. 383. [d] Plin. lib. 14. c. 1. t. i. p. 705. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 6. [f] Cicer. de Senect. § 7. t. iii. p. 301. [g] Dionys. Halic. de Vet. Script. Cens. t. v. p. 419. [h] Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 629. [i] Id. ibid. p. 631. [k] Pind. Isthm. 8. v. 20. Schol. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 22. [l] Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind. Corsin. Fast. Att. t. ii. p. 56; t. iii. p. 122 et 206. [m] Suid. in Κορίν et in Πίνδ.

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the fictions of fable, he thus began one of his poems: "Shall I sing the river Ismenus, the nymph Melia, Cadmus, Hercules, Bacchus, &c." To each of these names he had subjoined epithets. Corinna said to him smiling: "You have taken a sack of corn to sow a piece of ground, and instead of scattering it with your hand, at the very first step you have emptied the whole sack."[n]

He applied himself to every species of poetry,[o] and principally owed his fame to the hymns demanded of him, either to honour the festivals of the gods, or to celebrate the triumph of the victors at public games. Nothing can be more difficult than such a task. The tribute of praise required from the poet must be ready by a stated day; he has always the same scenes to paint, and is in perpetual danger of soaring above or sinking beneath his subject: but Pindar felt an internal sentiment superior to such trifling obstacles, and which extended his views beyond the limits of ordinary men.

His vigorous and independent genius never advanced but in bold, irregular, and impetuous movements. Are gods the subject of his odes, he soars like the eagle to the foot of the celestial throne. Is he to sing of men, he rushes into the lists like an un-

[n] Plut. de Glor. Athen. t. ii. p. 347. [o] Suid. in Πίνδ. Fabr. Bib. Græc. t. i. p. 550. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 223; t. xv. p. 357. [p] Horat. lib. 4. od. 2. Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 631. Disc. Prelim. de la Traduct. des Pythiques, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 34; t. v. Hist. p. 95. t. xxxii. p. 451.

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governable courser. In heaven and on earth, he pours forth, if I may be allowed the expression, a torrent of sublime images, daring metaphors, nervous thoughts, and luminous and resplendent language.[p]

Why do we sometimes behold this torrent overflow its banks, return into its bed, again burst over its bounds with redoubled fury, and retire once more peaceably to terminate its career? Like a lion, who rushes forward from time to time in various and winding paths, and never reposes till he has seized his prey, Pindar with determined force pursues every object which transiently presents itself to his view. He runs, he flies on the tracks of glory; and eagerly pants to display it to his country. When it is not sufficiently brilliant in the victors he is to celebrate, he seeks it in their ancestors, in their native land, in the institutors of the games, wherever he can collect its scattered rays, which he has the secret of combining with those with which he crowns his heroes.[q] At sight of their effulgency he falls into delirium that nothing can suspend; he assimilates their splendour to that of the star of day; and places the victor in whom they are concentrated at the summit of happiness.[r] If he unites wealth to beauty, he elevates him to the very throne of Jupiter;[s] but to guard him against pride, he hastens to remind him, that, clothed

[p] Horat. lib. 4. od. 2. Quintil. Instit. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 631. Disc. Prelim. de la Traduct. des Pythiques, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 34; t. v. Hist. p. 95; t. xxxii. p. 451.
[q] Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 7. [r] Id. ibid. v. 157. [s] Pind. Isthm. 5. v. 18.

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in a mortal body, the earth will soon be his last covering.[1]

So singular a language was conformable to the spirit of the age. The recent victories gained by the Greeks over the Persians had given them a new proof that nothing elevates the mind more than conspicuous and illustrious testimonials of the public esteem. Pindar, availing himself of circumstances, and accumulating the most energetic expressions, and the most brilliant metaphors, seemed to borrow the voice of thunder, that he might say to the states of Greece: Suffer not the divine flame enkindled in our hearts to be extinguished; excite every species of emulation; honour every kind of merit; be assured that acts of fortitude and sublimity alone can be performed by the man who lives but for glory. To the Greeks assembled in the plains of Olympia, he said: Behold those athletæ, who have engaged in contests so arduous and so dangerous to obtain a few olive-leaves in your presence! What will you not perform then, when called on to avenge your country?

Even at this day, those who attend the splendid solemnities of Greece, who behold a victor at the moment of his triumph, who follow him in his return to his native city, who hear the air resound with those shouts, those transports of joy and admiration, amid which are heard the names of their ancestors who merited the same distinction, and the epithets of the tutelary gods who have effected such a victory for

[1] Pind. Nem. 11. v. 20.

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their country,—these persons, I say, instead of being surprised at the sallies and enthusiasm of Pindar, will feel, no doubt, that his poetry, sublime as it is, is inadequate to describe the sensation which on such occasions they themselves have experienced.

Pindar, frequently struck with a spectacle no less affecting than magnificent, partook of the general intoxication, and transferring it to his poetical images, constituted himself the panegyrist and the distributor of glory: hence all his subjects were ennobled, and acquired a character of majesty. He had to celebrate illustrious sovereigns and obscure citizens; but in either it is not the man that he considers, the victor only is his theme.

Because men are soon disgusted with praises of which they themselves are not the object,[u] he never dwelt on personal qualities; but as the virtues of kings entitle them to real glory, he extols them for the good they have done,[x] and shows them what they have it in their power to perform. "Be just," adds he, "in all your actions, faithful in all your words;* reflect that thousands of witnesses have their eyes fixed upon you; the slightest error on your parts would be a fatal mischief."[y] This was the style of Pindar's commendation: he neither lavished incense, nor would grant every one the right to offer it. "Praises," said

[u] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 160; 8. v. 43. Isthm. 5. v. 65. Nem. 10. v. 37. [x] Id. Olymp. 1. v. 18; 2. v. 10 et 180. * The manner in which Pindar clothes these maxims may give an idea of the boldness of his metaphors: *Govern*, says he, *with the helm of justice; forge your tongue on the anvil of truth.* [y] Pind. Pyth. 1. v. 165.

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he, "are the reward of sublime actions:[a] virtues are nourished by their benignant dew, as plants by the dew of heaven:[b] but it is for the man of worth alone to bestow praises on worthy men."[b]

Notwithstanding the profundity of his ideas, and the apparent disorder of his style, his verses have always been universally applauded. The multitude admire without understanding;[c] because for them it is sufficient that lively images pass rapidly before their eyes like lightning, and lofty and sounding words repeatedly strike their astonished ears; but the most discerning judges will always place Pindar in the first rank of lyric poets,[d] whilst philosophers already quote his maxims and respect his authority.[e]

Instead of particularizing the specific beauties interspersed in all his works, I have confined myself to point out the noble sentiments with which they are animated. I may be allowed, therefore, to say with him: "I had many darts to throw; I have chosen that which might leave an honourable impression on the butt."[f]

It now remains for me to give some idea of his life and character. I have extracted the leading features from his writings, in which the Thebans say he has given his own portrait. "There was a time when the language of poetry was not sullied by sordid

[a] Pind. Isthm. 3. v. 11. [b] Id. Nem. 8. v. 68. [b] Id. Nem. 11. v. 22. [c] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 153. [d] Horat. Quintil. Longin. Dionys. Halic. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 369. [e] Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 81. de Rep. lib. 1. p. 331. [f] Pind. Olymp. 2. v. 149. Pythag. 1. v. 84.

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interest.[g] Let others at this day be dazzled with the brilliancy of gold; let them enlarge their possessions on every side:[h] I set no value on riches, except when tempered and embellished by the virtues, they enable us to acquire immortal glory.[i] My words are never distant from my thoughts.[k] I love my friends; I hate my enemy; but I attack him not with the weapons of calumny and satire.[l] Envy obtains from me only a contempt that humiliates it: as my only vengeance, I leave it to the ulcer that corrodes its heart.[m] Never shall the impotent cries of the timid and jealous bird stay the daring eagle soaring in the air.[n]

"Amid the flow and ebb of joys and griefs which roll over the heads of mortals, who can flatter himself that he shall enjoy constant felicity?[o] I have cast my eyes around me, and, perceiving that man is happiest in mediocrity, I have bewailed the destiny of the powerful, and prayed the gods not to overwhelm me with the burden of such prosperity.[p] I walk through simple paths, contented with my situation, and beloved by my fellow-citizens;[q] all my ambition is to please them, without relinquishing the privilege of freely explaining myself with respect to whatever I deem honourable and dishonourable.[r] In this disposition I tranquilly approach old age;[s] happy if, on

[g] Pind. Isthm. 2. v. 15. [h] Id. Nem. 8. v. 63. [i] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 96; Pyth. 3. v. 195; ibid. 5. v. 1. [k] Id. Isthm. 6. v. 105. [l] Id. Nem. 7. v. 100; Pyth. 2. v. 154 et 155. [m] Id. Pyth. 2. v. 168; Nem. 4. v. 65. [n] Id. Nem. 3. v. 138. [o] Id. Olymp. 2. v. 62; Nem. 7. v. 81. [p] Id. Pyth. 11. v. 76. [q] Plut. de Anim. Procreat. t. ii. p. 1030. [r] Pind. Nem. 8. v. 64. [s] Id. Isthm. 7. v. 58.

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reaching the gloomy confines of life, I can but bequeath to my children the most precious inheritance of all others, that of an unblemished name."[t]

The wishes of Pindar were accomplished; he lived in tranquillity and honour. The Thebans, it is true, sentenced him to pay a fine for praising their enemies the Athenians,[u] and the pieces of Corinna were five times preferred to his[x] at the poetical competitions; but these transient storms were soon succeeded by days of serenity. The Athenians, and all the states of Greece, loaded him with honours;[y] and Corinna herself did justice to the superiority of his genius.[z] At Delphi, during the Pythian games, compelled to yield to the wishes of an immense multitude of spectators, he placed himself, crowned with laurels, on an elevated seat,[a] and taking up his lyre, brought forth such harmonious sounds as excited shouts of admiration from the whole assembly, and afforded the most delightful entertainment of the festival. When the sacrifices were ended, the priests of Apollo solemnly invited him to the sacred banquet; for the oracle, to honour him by a distinction equally illustrious and novel, had ordered a portion of the first fruits offered in the temple to be reserved for him.[b]

The Bœotians have a great taste for music; almost

[t] Pind. Pyth. 11. v. 76. [u] Æschin. Epist. 4. p. 207. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 20. [x] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13. c. 25. [y] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 20. Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind. [z] Fabric. Bibl. Græc. t. i. p. 578. [a] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 24. p. 858. [b] Id. lib. 9. c. 23. p. 755. Thom. Mag. Gen. Pind.

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all of them learn to play the flute.[c] Since their victory at Leuctra they indulge more freely in the pleasures of the table:[d] they have excellent bread, plenty of vegetables and fruit, and sufficient game and fish to allow of a considerable quantity being sent to Athens.[e]

The winter is very cold in every part of Bœotia, and almost insupportable at Thebes.[f] During this season the snow, the wind, and want of wood, render this part of Greece as unpleasing a place of residence as it is agreeable in summer, from the mildness of the air, the extreme coolness of its abundant waters, and the cheerful aspect of the country, which long preserves its verdure.[g]

The Thebans are courageous, insolent, and vain: with them the transition is short from passion to insult, and from a contempt of law to a total disregard of the dictates of humanity. The smallest expectation of advantage gives occasion to the grossest acts of injustice, and murders were frequently the consequence of the most frivolous quarrels.[h] The women are tall, well made, and generally of a fair complexion; their carriage is noble, and their dress not inelegant. In public they conceal their faces so as to discover nothing but their eyes: their hair is knotted

[c] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 863. Schol. ibid. v. 862, &c. Poll. lib. 4. § 65. Athen. lib. 5. c. 25. p. 184. [d] Polyb. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 4. p. 418. [e] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 878. Eubul. ap. Athen. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 47. Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 17. Plin. lib. 19. c. 5. tom. ii. p. 166 et 167. [f] Columel. de Re Rustic. lib. 1. c. 4. [g] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 17. [h] Id. ibid. p. 15.

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upon their heads, and their feet are confined in purple slippers, so small as to leave them almost entirely bare; their voice is remarkably sweet and tender; that of the men harsh and disagreeable, and in some measure suited to their character.[i]

No traces of this character, however, are to be found in a body of young warriors, called the Sacred Battalion,[k] who, to the number of three hundred, are brought up together, and maintained at the public expense, in the citadel. Their exercises, and even their amusements, are regulated by the melodious sounds of the flute. To prevent their courage from degenerating into blind fury, care is taken to inspire them with the noblest and most animated sentiments.

Each warrior must choose from the band a friend, to whom he remains inseparably united. All his ambition is to please him, to merit his esteem, to share his pleasures and sufferings in life, and his labours and dangers in battle. If personally incapable of self-respect, he still must respect himself in a friend whose censure is his most cruel punishment, and his praises his most exquisite enjoyment. This almost supernatural union makes them prefer death to infamy, and the acquisition of glory to every inferior object One of these warriors, in the heat of the engagement, was thrown with his face upon the ground; when seeing one of the enemy on the point of stabbing him in the back: "Stay," said he, raising himself up,

[i] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 16 et 17. [k] Plut. in Pelop. t. i p. 287.

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"plunge your sword into my breast; my friends would have too much reason to blush, were it suspected that I received my death wound in flight."

Formerly these three hundred warriors were distributed in troops at the head of the different divisions of the army. Pelopidas, who had frequently the honour of commanding them, having made them fight in a body, the Thebans were indebted to them for almost all the advantages they gained over the Lacedæmonians. Philip destroyed this hitherto invincible cohort at Chæronea; and that prince, seeing these young Thebans stretched on the field of battle, covered with honourable wounds, and lying side by side on the ground on which they had been stationed, could not withhold his tears, but bore a noble testimony to their virtue as well as to their valour.[l]

It has been remarked, that nations and cities, no less than families, have a prevailing vice or defect, which is transmitted, like certain diseases, from race to race, with a greater or less degree of violence; hence those reciprocal reproaches, which are converted into a kind of proverbs. Thus the Bœotians usually observe, that envy has fixed its abode at Tanagra, the thirst of illicit gain at Oropus, the spirit of contradiction at Thespiæ, violence at Thebes, covetousness at Anthedon, false politeness at Coronea, ostentation at Platæa, and stupidity at Haliartus.[m]

On leaving Thebes, we passed by a considerable lake, named Hylica, into which the rivers that water

[l] Plut. in Pelop. tom. i. p. 287.

[m] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 18.

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the territory of this city discharge themselves. From thence we proceeded to the banks of Lake Copais, which engrossed our whole attention.

Bœotia may be considered as a large basin surrounded by mountains, the different chains of which are connected by high grounds. Other hills stretch into the heart of the country; most of the rivers which proceed from them unite in Lake Copais, which is three hundred and eighty stadia* in circumference,[n] and which neither has, nor can have, any apparent issue. It would, therefore, soon overflow Bœotia, had not nature, or rather the industry of man, contrived secret passages to drain off the water.[o]

In the part adjoining to the sea the lake terminates in three bays, which advance to the foot of Mount Ptous, situate between the sea and the lake. From the bottom of each of these bays diverge a number of canals that traverse the mountain through its whole breadth, some of which are thirty stadia in length,† and others of a much greater extent.[p] To excavate or cleanse them, wells had been sunk at stated distances on the mountain, which appeared to us of an immense depth. The traveller when he views these works is astonished at the difficulty of the enterprise, as well as the expense it must have cost, and the time requisite for its completion. But what is still more surprising is, that these canals and pits, of which neither history nor tradition has preserved any remembrance, must be attri-

* Fourteen leagues and one third. [n] Strab. lib. 9. p. 407. [o] Id. ibid. p. 406. † More than a league. [p] Strab. lib. 9. p. 406. Wheeler's Journey, p. 466.

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buted to the most remote antiquity, and that in those distant ages, we have no knowledge of any power in Bœotia capable of forming and executing so vast a project.

However this may be, these canals require a great labour and expence to maintain them. At present they are much neglected:* most of them are choked up, and the lake seems to be gaining on the plain. It is very probable that the deluge, or rather the inundation which happened in Bœotia, in the time of Ogyges, was caused only by the obstruction of the waters in these subterraneous conduits.

After passing through Opoës, and other towns belonging to the Locrians, we arrived at the straits of Thermopylæ. I entered with a secret awe and reverence this famous defile, where four thousand Greeks, for several days, made head against the innumerable army of the Persians, and where Leonidas fell with his three hundred Spartans. It is a narrow passage, shut in on one side by lofty mountains, and on the other by the sea; but I have already described it in the Introduction.

We examined it several times, and visited the thermæ or hot baths, from which it received the name of Thermopylæ.[q] We saw, likewise, the little eminence to which the companions of Leonidas retired after the death of that hero.[r] We followed their footsteps to the other extremity of the strait,[s] and to

* In the time of Alexander, a native of Chalcis was employed to cleanse them. (Strab. lib. 9. p. 407. Steph. in Αθῆν.) [q] Herodot lib. 7. c. 176. [r] Id. ibid. c. 225. [s] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 866.

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the tent of Xerxes, whom they resolved to immolate in the midst of his army.

A multitude of circumstances gave birth to the strongest emotions in our minds. That sea, once stained with the blood of nations; those mountains, with their summits concealed in the clouds; the profound solitude which surrounded us; the memory of so many glorious deeds as it were presented to our eyes, at sight of the places which had been the scenes of action; the lively concern, in fine, which we naturally take in suffering virtue: every object excited our admiration or sensibility; when looking round us, we cast our eyes on the monuments erected by order of the Amphictyonic council on the eminence I have just mentioned.[t] They are small cippi, in honour of the three hundred Spartans and the other Grecian troops engaged in the combat. Inscribed on the nearest we read: "Here four thousand Greeks of Peloponnesus fought against three millions of Persians." On the second we read this inscription, by Simonides: "Passenger, go tell at Lacedæmon, that we repose here in obedience to her sacred laws!"[u] With what an exalted sentiment of grandeur, with what sublime indifference, do these words transmit events so glorious to posterity! The names of Leonidas and his three hundred companions are not recorded in this inscription, for it was impossible to imagine that they ever could be forgotten. I have heard several Greeks repeat them from memory, and

[t] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 228. [u] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 9. p. 429. Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 42. t. ii. p. 268.

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communicate them to each other.[x] In a third inscription for Megistias the augur, it is said, that this Spartan, apprized of the fate that awaited him, chose rather to die than leave the Grecian army.[y] Near to these funeral monuments is a trophy erected by Xerxes, which does more honour to the vanquished than to the victors.[z]

[x] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 224. [y] Id. ibid. c. 228. [z] Isocr. Epist. ad Philip. t. i. p. 304.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

Tour of Thessaly.—Amphictyons.—Sorceresses.—Kings of Phæræ.—Valley of Tempe.*

On leaving the straits of Thermopylæ, we enter into Thessaly.† This country, comprising Magnesia and other little districts which have particular denominations, is bounded to the east by the sea, to the north by Mount Olympus, to the west by Mount Pindus, and to the south by Mount Œta. From these external boundaries branch out other chains of mountains and hills, which wind through the country, occasionally embracing fertile plains, that, from their form and the manner in which they are enclosed, resemble vast amphitheatres.[a] Opulent cities are seated on the heights which encircle these plains, and the whole country is watered by rivers falling in general into the Peneus, which, before it loses itself in the sea, flows through the famous valley of Tempe.

A few stadia from Thermopylæ we found the little village of Anthela, celebrated for a temple of Ceres, and for the annual assembly of the Amphictyons.[b] This council would be the most useful, and

* In the summer of the year 357 before Christ. † See the map of Thessaly. [a] Plin. lib. 4. c. 8. t. i. p. 199. [b] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 200. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 191, &c.

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consequently the most sublime of institutions, were not the motives of humanity which gave it birth, compelled to yield to the passions of those who govern nations. According to some, Amphictyon, who reigned over the neighbouring country, was its institutor;[c] others say it was Acrisius, king of Argos.[d] Thus much, however, appears certain, that in the most remote periods twelve nations in the north of Greece,[e]* such as the Dorians, the Iönians, the Phocians, the Bœotians, the Thessalians, and others, formed a confederation to prevent the evils attendant upon war. It was determined that they should annually send deputies to Delphi; that information should be given to this assembly of all injuries done to the temple of Apollo, which had received their oaths, and all violations of the law of nations, of which they professed themselves the defenders; that each of the twelve nations should have two suffrages in the person of its deputies, and engage to carry into execution the decrees of this august tribunal.

The league was ratified by an oath, the form of which is still retained. "We swear," said the associated states, "never to destroy the Amphictyonic towns, nor ever to divert, either in peace or war, the springs or streams necessary to supply their wants: if any power should dare to attempt it, we will march against that power and destroy its cities. Should im-

[c] Marmor. Oxon. epoch. 5. Prid. Commentar. page 359. Theopomp. ap. Harpocr. in Αμφικτ. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 815.
[d] Strab. 9. p. 420. [e] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 413. Strab. ib. Pausan. ibid. * See note XVI. at the end of the volume.

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pious men seize on the offerings in the temple of Apollo, we swear to employ our feet, our arms, our voices, and all our powers, against them and their accomplices."[f]

This tribunal still subsists, nearly in the same form in which it was originally instituted. Its jurisdiction has extended with the nations which left the northern parts of Greece, and which, remaining united to the Amphictyonic league, have carried with them the right of attending and voting at these assemblies to their adopted countries.[g] This is the case with the Lacedæmonians, who formerly inhabited Thessaly, and who, when they settled in Peloponnesus, retained one of the two suffrages to which the Dorians, of whom they formed a part, were originally entitled. In like manner, the double suffrage granted to the Iönians was, in process of time, divided between the Athenians and Iönian colonies of Asia Minor.[h] But, though the number of votes at this council can never exceed twenty-four, the number of deputies is not limited; the Athenians sometimes had three or four.[i]

The Amphictyonic council is held in the spring at Delphi, and in autumn at the town of Anthela.[k] It attracts a numerous concourse of spectators, and opens by sacrifices offered up for the tranquillity and prosperity of Greece. Besides the objects specified in the oath, the assembly judges all differences be-

[f] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 413. Bell. Lettr. t. xxi. Hist. p. 237.
[g] Mem. de l'Acad. des
[h] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 413.
[i] Id. in Ctesiph. p. 446. Æschin. ibid.
[k] Strab. lib. 9. p. 420.

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tween cities which claim the right of presiding at the sacrifices offered by several cities in conjunction,[l] or which, after a battle gained, may attempt to appropriate exclusively to themselves honours that should be the portion of all.[m] Other causes, civil as well as criminal, are brought before this tribunal,[n] but more especially such offences as openly violate the law of nations.[o] The question is discussed by the deputies of the contending parties, and decided by the majority of voices. A fine is imposed on the offending nations or cities, which, if not paid before a stated time, is followed by a second sentence, by which it is doubled.[p] If those against whom it is awarded still continue refractory, the assembly may call for assistance to support its decree, and arm against them the whole Amphictyonic body, consisting of a great part of Greece. It may also exclude them from the Amphictyonic league or common union of the temple.[q]

But powerful nations do not always submit to its decrees. Of this we have an instance in the recent conduct of the Lacedæmonians, who having, in time of profound peace, taken possession of the citadel of Thebes, the magistrates of that city summoned them to the Amphictyonic council. The Lacedæmonians were first sentenced to pay five hundred talents, and afterwards a thousand, which they refused, alleging that the decision was unjust.

[l] Demosth. de Cor. p. 495. Plut. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 850. [m] Demosth. in Neær. p. 877. Cicer. de Invent. iib. 2. c. 23. t. i. p. 96. [n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. p. 405. [o] Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 483. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 430. [q] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 122. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 8. p. 816. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 413. [r] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 430.

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The judgments pronounced against nations who profane the temple of Delphi are more tremendous. Their soldiers march with the more repugnance on such an enterprise, as they are punished with death, and deprived of sepulture when taken in arms:[s] while those called on by the council to avenge the profanation of the altars are the more willing to obey, as every man who favours or tolerates the act is deemed a sharer in the impiety. On these occasions, the guilty people, besides the anathemas thundered out against them, have to dread the policy of the neighbouring princes, who frequently find the means of gratifying their own ambition by espousing the cause of the gods.

From Anthela we proceeded into the territory of the Trachinians, and saw the country people employed in collecting the valuable hellebore which grows on Mount Œta.[t] The desire of satisfying our curiosity induced us to pursue the road to Hypata. We had been told that we should meet with a great number of sorceresses in Thessaly, and especially in this town.[u] And they showed us, indeed, several women of the lower class, who were able, as they said, to arrest the course of the sun, to draw the moon down to the earth, to excite or appease tempests, recal the dead to life, or precipitate the living into the tomb.[x]

[s] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 427 et 431. [t] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 9. c. 11. p. 1063. [u] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 747. Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. t. ii. p. 523. Senec. in Hippol. act. 2. v. 420. Apul. Metam. lib. 1. p. 15; lib. 2. p. 20. [x] Emped. apud Diogen. Laërt. lib. 8. § 59. Apul. ibid. p. 6. Virg. Eclog. 8. v. 69.

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What can be supposed first to have given birth to such ideas? Those who believe them of recent origin, affirm that a Thessalian woman of the last century, named Aglaonice, having learned to predict eclipses of the moon, attributed this phænomenon to her incantations,[y] and that it was inferred from thence that the same means were sufficient to suspend all the laws of nature. But another woman of Thessaly, as far back as the heroic ages, is said to have exercised a sovereign power over that planet;[z] and a multitude of facts clearly prove that it is long since magic has been introduced into Greece.

Without inquiring minutely into its origin, we were desirous, during our stay at Hypata, to be witness to some of its operations. We were privately conducted to some old women, whose wretchedness was as excessive as their ignorance. They boasted that they possessed charms against the bite of scorpions and vipers,[a] and others that would debilitate the vigour of a youthful bridegroom, or destroy flocks and bees.[b] We saw some employed in making figures of wax, which they loaded with imprecations, piercing them at the same time with needles, after which they exposed them in the different quarters of the town.[c] The persons whose resemblance they bore, struck with these objects of terror, imagined themselves de-

[y] Plut. Conjugal. Præcept. t. ii. p. 145. Id. de Orac. Def p. 417. Bayle, Rep. aux Quest. t. i. c. 44. p. 424. [z] Senec in Hercul. Œtæo, v. 525. [a] Plat. in Euthydem. t. i. p. 290
[b] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 181. Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. t. iii. p. 933
[c] Plat. de Leg. lib. 11. t. ii. p. 933. Ovid. Heroid. epist. 6 v. 91.

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voted to death, and the dread with which they were seized not unfrequently shortened their days.

We surprised one of these women rapidly turning a spinning wheel,[d] and muttering mysterious words. Her object was to recal[e] young Polycletus, who had forsaken Salamis, one of the most distinguished women in the town. To know the sequel of this adventure, we made a few presents to Mycale, for that was the name of the sorceress. A few days after she said to us: Salamis is too impatient to wait for the effects of my first spells; she will come this evening to try new ones; I will conceal you in a corner, where you may see and hear every thing. We were exact to our appointment. Mycale was preparing for her incantations. Around her[f] we saw branches of laurel, aromatic plants, plates of brass covered with unknown characters, fleeces of sheep dyed purple, nails taken from a gibbet still clotted with blood, human skulls half eaten by wild beasts, fragments of fingers, noses, and ears torn from dead bodies, entrails of victims, a phial containing the blood of a man who perished by a violent death, a waxen figure painted white, black, and red, and representing Hecate, holding a whip, a lamp, and a sword, round which a serpent twined;[g] several vases filled with spring water,[h] milk of cows, mountain honey, the magic wheel, in-

[d] Pindar. Pyth. 4. v. 380. Schol. ibid. Apoll. Argon. lib. 1. v. 1139. Schol. ibid. Hesych. in Ῥόμβ. Bayle, Rep. aux Quest. p. 414. [e] Lucian. in Meretr. 4. t. iii. p. 288. [f] Theocr. Idyll. 2. Apul. Metam. lib. 3. p. 54. [g] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. c. 14. p. 202. [h] Apul. Metam. lib. 3. p. 55.

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struments of brass, some hair of Polycletus, a piece of the fringe of his robe,[i] and a variety of other articles, which we were attentively observing, when a slight noise informed us of the arrival of Salamis.

We retired into an adjoining chamber. The beautiful Thessalian entered, filled with love and rage; and after bitter complaints against her lover and the sorceress, the ceremonies began. These, to render them more efficacious, should in general have some affinity to the object proposed.

Mycale first made several libations with water, milk, and honey, over the entrails of the victims: she next took the locks of Polycletus's hair, interwove and knotted them in various ways, and mixing them with certain herbs, threw them into a burning brasier.[k] At this moment Polycletus, impelled by an irresistible power, should have appeared and fallen at the feet of his mistress.

After waiting for him in vain, Salamis, who had lately been initiated in the secrets of the art, suddenly exclaimed: I will myself preside over the enchantment. Aid my transports, Mycale: take this vessel prepared for the libations, wrap it up in this wool.[l] Luminary of the night, lend us a favourable light! and thou divinity of the infernal shades, dread Hecate, who stalkest among the tombs, and in places bathed with the blood of mortals, appear, and let our spells

[i] Theocr. Idyll. 2. [k] Apul. Metam. lib. 3. p. 55. [l] Theocr. Idyll. 2. v. 2.

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be as potent as those of Medea, and of Circe! Mycale, cast this salt into the fire,[m] saying: I cast the bones of Polycletus. May the heart of that perfidious man be consumed by love, as this laurel is consumed by the flames, as this wax melts at the approach of the fire;[n] may Polycletus turn around my dwelling, as this wheel turns around its axis. Throw handfuls of bran into the fire; strike on the brazen vessels. Hark! I hear the howling of dogs. Hecate is in the cross-road near us. Strike, I tell thee, and let the sound apprize her that we feel the effects of her presence. But already the winds hold their breath; all nature is calm; alas! my heart alone is agitated![o] O Hecate! O tremendous goddess! I make these three libations in thy honour; thrice am I about to utter imprecations against the new passion of Polycletus. May he forsake my rival, as Theseus abandoned the wretched Ariadne! Let us try the most potent of our philtres: pound this lizard in a mortar, mix it with flour; let us make a potion of it for Polycletus; and thou, Mycale, take the juice of these herbs, and instantly go and sprinkle it on the threshold of his door. If he resists so many charms, I will employ others more fatal, and his death shall satisfy my vengeance.[p] At these words Salamis withdrew, and was followed soon after by Mycale.

The incantations which I have been describing were accompanied with certain mysterious forms,

[m] Heins. in Theocr. Idyll. 2. v. 18. [n] Theocrit. ibid. v. 28. Virgil. Eclog. 8. v. 80. [o] Theocrit. ibid. [p] Id. Idyll. 2. v. 28.

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pronounced at intervals by Mycale ;[q] but these are not deserving of repetition, since they consisted only of barbarous or disfigured words without either connexion or meaning.

It still remained for us to see the ceremonies made use of in the evocation of the manes or spirits of the dead. Mycale told us to repair at night to a solitary place containing a number of tombs, at some distance from the town. We there found her busied in digging a grave,[r] around which she presently piled up herbs, the bones and remains of human bodies, figures made of wool, wax, and flour, and the hair of a Thessalian whom we had known, and whom she undertook to show us. After lighting the fire, she poured the blood of a black sheep she had brought with her into the grave, and frequently repeated her libations, invocations, and secret and mysterious formulas. From time to time she walked with hasty steps, with her feet bare, and her hair dishevelled, uttering horrid imprecations and such howlings as at length betrayed her; for they were heard by the guards sent by the magistrates, who had been long watching her motions. They seized and dragged her to prison. The next day we made some attempts to save her, but we were advised to let justice take its course,[s] and to make the best of our way out of the town.

Her profession is reputed infamous among the Greeks. The people detest sorceresses, for they con-

[q] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 6. p. 293. [r] Homer. Odyss. lib. 11. v. 36. Horat. lib. 1. sat. 8. v. 22. Heliod. ibid. p. 292. Feith. Antiq. Homer. lib. 1. c. 17. [s] Lucian. in Asin. t. ii. p. 622.

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sider them as the cause of all their misfortunes. They accuse them of violating the tombs to mutilate the dead.[t] It is true that most of these women are capable of the blackest crimes, and that poison serves them more effectually than their spells. For this reason the magistrates in general proceed against them with the utmost rigour. During my residence at Athens, I saw one condemned to die, and her relations, who were become her accomplices, suffered the same punishment.[u] But the laws prohibit only the abuses of this frivolous art; they allow incantations to be used unaccompanied by sorceries, and which in their object may eventually prove advantageous to society. They are sometimes used against the epilepsy,[x] head-aches,[y] and other disorders.[z] Augurs, authorized by the magistrates, are also allowed to call up and appease the manes of the dead.[a] I shall speak more particularly of these evocations in my journey into Laconia.

From Hypata we proceeded to Lamia, and pursuing our journey through a wild country, and over a rugged and uneven road, arrived at Thaumaci, where we enjoyed one of the finest prospects we had seen in Greece;[b] for this town overlooks an immense plain, the view of which produces the liveliest and most pleasing emotions. In this rich and noble vale[c] are

[t] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 6. v. 538. Apul. Metam. lib. 2. p. 33 et 35. [u] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 840. Philochor. ap. Harpocr. in Θεωρ. [x] Demosth. in Aristog. p. 840. [y] Plat. in Charm. t. ii. p. 155. Id. in Conviv. t. iii. p. 202. [z] Pind. Pyth. 3. v. 91. Plin. lib. 28. c. 2. t. ii. p. 444. [a] Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 109. [b] Liv. lib. 32. c. 4. [c] Pococke, t. iii. p. 153.

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several towns, and among others Pharsalus, one of the largest and most opulent in Thessaly. We visited them all, and procured all the information we could respecting their traditions, their government, and the character and manners of the inhabitants.

We need only glance over the face of the country, to be convinced that it must formerly have contained almost as many tribes or nations as it exhibits hills and valleys. Enclosed and defended at that time by strong barriers, which were continually attacked or defended, the people were rendered brave and enterprising; and when their manners became more civilized, Thessaly still continued the abode of heroes, and the theatre of the most illustrious achievements. Here it was that the Centaurs and Lapithæ appeared, that the Argonauts embarked, that Hercules died, that Achilles was born, that Pirithoüs lived; and hither warriors resorted from the most distant countries to signalize themselves by deeds of arms.

The Achæans, and Æolians, the Dorians, from whom descended the Lacedæmonians, and several other powerful states of Greece, derive their origin from Thessaly. The people who inhabit it at present are the Thessalians properly so called, the Œteans, the Phthiotians, the Malians, the Magnesians, the Perrhæbians, &c. These nations were formerly governed by kings, and afterwards experienced revolutions common to great and small states; at present they are for the most part subject to an oligarchy.[d]

[d] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 78.

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On certain occasions, the towns of each of these states send their deputies to a council in which their interests are discussed;[e] but the decrees of these assemblies are binding only on those who have subscribed them. Thus, not only are the states independent of each other, but this independence is extended to the towns of every state. For instance, the state of the Œteans being divided into fourteen districts,[f] the inhabitants of one may refuse to follow the others to war.[g] This excessive liberty diminishes the strength of each state, by preventing it from uniting its forces, and produces such languor in the public deliberations, that they often dispense with convening the assemblies.[h]

The confederacy of the Thessalians, properly so called, is the most powerful of all, both from the number of towns appertaining to it, and from the accession of the Magnesians and Perrhæbians, whom it has almost brought under complete subjection.[i]

We meet likewise with some free cities which seem unconnected with any of these states, and which, too weak singly to maintain their independence and command a proper respect, have formed an alliance with two or three other neighbouring towns, detached and feeble like themselves.[k]

The Thessalians can bring into the field an army

[e] Id. ibid. Liv. lib. 35. c. 31; lib. 36. c. 8; lib. 39. c. 25; lib. 42. c. 38. [f] Strab. lib. 9. p. 434. [g] Diod. Sic. lib. 18. p. 595. [h] Liv. lib. 34. c. 51. [i] Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 265. [k] Strab. lib. 9. p. 437. Liv. lib. 42. c. 53.

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of six thousand horse, and ten thousand infantry,[l] exclusive of their archers, who are excellent, and the number of whom can be increased at pleasure; for this people are accustomed from their infancy to draw the bow.[m] No troops are more famous than the Thessalian cavalry;[n] which is not only formidable from the name it has acquired, but all nations agree that its shock is almost irresistible.[o]

They are said to have been the first who managed horses with the bit, and made use of them in battle; hence originated, it has been alleged, the tradition that a race of creatures called centaurs, half horses and half men, formerly existed in Thessaly.[p] This fable proves at least the antiquity of riding on horseback among them; and their predilection for this exercise is evinced by a ceremony observed at their marriages. After the sacrifices and customary rites, the bridegroom presents his spouse with a horse, decked out with all the military trappings.[q]

Thessaly produces wine, oil, and fruits of different kinds. The land is so rich that the corn would grow too fast, did they not cut it, or turn in sheep to graze on it.[r]

The crops, which are in general very plentiful, are often destroyed by worms.[s] A great quantity of corn

[l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 581. Isocr. de Pace, t. i. p. 420. [m] Xen. ibid. Solin. c. 8. [n] Pausan. lib. 10. cap. 1. page 799. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 435. Liv. lib. 9. c. 19. [o] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 278. [p] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56. t. i. p. 416. [q] Ælian. de Animal. lib. 11. c. 34. [r] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 8. c. 7. page 942. [s] Id. ibid. c. 10.

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is conveyed on carriages to different sea-ports, and especially to that of Thebes in Phthiotis, whence it is exported to foreign countries.[t] This commerce, which produces considerable sums, is the more advantageous to the nation, as it is easy to carry it on, and even to increase it, from the prodigious number of slaves which are known by the name of Penestæ. They are in general descended from those Perrhæbians and Magnesians whom the Thessalians, after conquering, condemned to slavery; a circumstance which but too strongly marks the contradictions of the human mind. The Thessalians are the people who perhaps of all the Greeks pride themselves most in their liberty,[u] and they were the first to reduce the Greeks to slavery: the Lacedæmonians, who are no less jealous of their freedom, have given the same example to all Greece.[x]

The Penestæ have more than once revolted:[y] they are so numerous as always to inspire dread, so that their masters are allowed to make them an article of commerce, and sell them to the other inhabitants of Greece. But what is still more shameful is, that avaricious men frequently steal the slaves of others, carry off even free citizens, and, loading them with chains, force them on board vessels which are attracted to the coasts of Thessaly by the thirst of gain.[z]

[t] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 581. Liv. lib. 39. cap. 25. [u] Euripid. in Alcest. v. 677. [x] Theop. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 18. p. 265. [y] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 9. t. ii. p. 328. [z] Aristoph. in Plut. v. 520. Schol. ibid.

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In the town of Arne, however, I saw slaves whose condition is not so bad. They are descended from those Bœotians who formerly came to settle in the country, and were at length expelled by the Thessalians. Most of them returned to their native homes: others, unable to quit their habitations, capitulated with their conquerors. They consented to become bondsmen, on condition that their masters should neither deprive them of life, nor transport them to other countries; they undertook the cultivation of the earth, paying an annual tribute. Many of them at present are richer than their masters.[a]

The Thessalians receive strangers with great civility, and treat them with magnificence.[b] Luxury is conspicuous in their dress and houses:[c] they are fond to excess of ostentation and good living; their tables are served with as much refinement as profusion; and the dancing girls, who are hired to amuse them at entertainments, can only please by laying aside almost every covering of modesty.[d]

They are passionate, turbulent,[e] and so difficult to govern, that I have seen many of their towns distracted with factions.[f] They are reproached, like all other polished nations, with not being tenacious observers of their word, and of readily failing in their

[a] Archem. ap. Athen. lib. 6. p. 264. Thucyd. lib. 12. [b] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. Athen. lib. 14. c. 5. p. 624. [c] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 53. Athen. lib. 14. c. 23. p. 663. Theoph. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 260. [d] Athen. lib. 13. c. 9. p. 607. [e] Liv. lib. 34. c. 51. [f] Isocr. ep. 2. ad Phil. t. i. p. 451.

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engagements with their allies.[g] The education they receive adding only prejudices and errors to nature, corruption takes early root among them; example soon invites to the commission of crimes, and guilt is rendered insolent by impunity.[h]

They have cultivated poetry from the most early ages, and affirm that Thessaly gave birth to Thamyris, Orpheus, Linus, and many others who lived in the heroic age, and whose glory reflects honour on their country;[i] but since that period they have produced no writer, nor any celebrated artist. About a century and a half ago, Simonides found them insensible to the charms of his poetry.[k] They have been more attentive in later times to the lessons of Gorgias the rhetorician, and still prefer the pompous eloquence by which he was distinguished, but without suffering it to rectify the false ideas they entertain of justice and of virtue.[l]

They have so great a taste for dancing, and hold it in such estimation, as to apply the terms of that art to objects of a far nobler nature. In some places generals or magistrates are called chiefs of the dance.[m]* Their music observes a medium between the Doric and the Iönic; and as it alternately depicts the confidence of presumption, and the softness of effeminate

[g] Demosth. Olynth. 1. p. 4. Id. adv. Aristocr. p. 743. [h] Plat. in Crit. tom. i. p. 53. [i] Voss. Observ. ad Melam. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 456. [k] Plut. de Aud. Poet. t. ii. p. 15. [l] Plat. in Crit. t. i. p. 53. Id. in Men. t. ii. p. 70. [m] Lucian. de Salt. c. 14. t. ii. p. 276. * Lucian gives us an inscription written by a Thessalian, and conceived in these terms: "The people erected this statue to Ilation, because he danced well in battle."

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pleasure, it harmonizes with the character and manners of the country.[n]

They never on any occasion kill storks; a circumstance I should pass over, were not the same punishment inflicted on the person who kills one of these birds as if he had taken away the life of a man.[o] Astonished at so singular a law, we inquired the cause of it, and were told that storks had freed Thessaly from the enormous serpents which formerly infested it, and that without this law the inhabitants would soon have been under the necessity of abandoning the country,[p] as the people of a town of Thessaly, the name of which I have forgotten, had been forced to do on account of the prodigious quantity of moles.[q]

In our time a power arose in the city of Pheræ, which shone with a splendid but transitory lustre. The first foundation of it was laid by Lycophron;[r] and his successor Jason raised it so high as to render it formidable to all Greece, and even to distant nations. I have heard so much spoken of this extraordinary man, that I cannot refrain from giving a short sketch of what he did, and what he might eventually have done.

Jason possessed those qualities which are requisite to the founding of a great empire. He early maintained in his pay a body of six thousand auxiliary

[n] Athen. lib. 14. p. 624. [o] Plin. lib. 10. c. 23. Solin. c. 40. Plut. de Isid. et Osir. t. ii. p. 380. [p] Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. t. i. p. 1150. [q] Plin. lib. 8. c. 29. p. 455. [r] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 2. p. 461. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 300. Reinec. i s t. Jul. t. ii. p. 366.

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troops, whom he continually exercised, attaching them to his person by rewards when they distinguished themselves, by the closest attention and care in the hour of sickness, and by honourable funerals at their death.[s] To obtain admission into, and to remain in this corps, it was necessary that the soldier should be of approved valour, and possess that intrepidity which he himself displayed in difficulties and dangers. Men who personally knew him have told me that his body was proof against the greatest fatigues, and his activity such as to surmount the most arduous obstacles; that he could deny himself sleep and food when it was necessary to act; that he was insensible, or rather inaccessible, to the allurements of pleasure: too prudent to engage in any undertaking without a certainty of success; and no less skilful than Themistocles in penetrating the designs of the enemy, in concealing his own, and in supplying the want of force by stratagem or intrigue:[t] in a word, that he rendered every thing subservient to his ambition, and never left any thing to chance.

To complete this delineation of his character, it must be added, that he governed his people with mildness,[u] and that his friendship was so sincere, that Timotheus, the Athenian general, to whom he was bound by ties of hospitality, being accused before the assembly of the people, Jason laid aside the insignia of the throne, repaired to Athens, mixed, as an indivi-

[s] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 6. p. 580. [t] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 1. c. 30. t. iii. p. 209. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 373.

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dual, with the friends of the accused, and by his solicitations contributed to save his life.[x]

After reducing some nations to subjection, and forming treaties of alliance with others, he communicated his projects to the principal chiefs of the Thessalians.[y] He represented to them that the power of the Lacedæmonians was annihilated by the battle of Leuctra, that the newly-acquired ascendency of the Thebans could be but momentary and unstable, and that the Athenian navy, which constituted the only strength of that state, might soon be surpassed by fleets which could easily be built in the ports of Thessaly. He added, that by conquests and alliances it would not be difficult to obtain the empire of Greece, and overthrow that of the Persians, the weakness of which had so recently been manifested by the expeditions of Agesilaus and the Younger Cyrus. These suggestions inflamed every mind; he was elected chief and generalissimo of the Thessalian league, and soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand infantry, upwards of three thousand horse, and a very considerable number of light troops.[z]

Thus circumstanced, the Thebans implored his aid against the Lacedæmonians.[a] Though at war with the Phocians, he selected his best troops, marched with incredible celerity, and preceding every where the rumour of his approach, formed a junction with

[x] Demosth. in Timoth. p. 1075. Cornel. Nep. in Timoth. c. 4. [y] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 580. [z] Id. ibid. p. 583. Id. ibid. p. 598.

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the Thebans in sight of the Lacedæmonian army. To avoid strengthening either state by a victory which might counteract his views, he engaged them to sign a truce, fell immediately on Phocis, which he laid waste, and, after other enterprises equally rapid and successful, returned to Pheræ crowned with glory, and courted by different nations which solicited his alliance.

The time for celebrating the Pythian games was now at hand; Jason formed the project of marching thither with his army. Some imagined that it was his intention to over-awe the assembly, and obtain the superintendence of the games: but as he was known sometimes to employ extraordinary means for the subsistence of his troops,[c] the people of Delphi suspected him of entertaining views on the sacred treasury.[d] When the priests inquired of the god by what means they should avert this sacrilegious attempt, they were answered, that he took that care upon himself. A few days after, Jason was killed at the head of his army, by seven young conspirators, who, it is said, had reason to complain of his severity.[e]

Among the Greeks some rejoiced at his death, because they trembled for their liberty; others, whose expectations were founded on his projects, lamented the event.[f] I know not whether the plan of uniting the Greeks and invading Persia originated with himself, or whether he had adopted it from one of those

[b] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 600. [c] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. c. 1, &c. [d] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 600. [e] Valer. Max. lib. 9. c. 10. [f] Id. ibid.

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sophists who for some time had so frequently made it a subject of discussion in their writings and in the general assemblies of Greece.[g] The project, however, was certainly practicable, and has been justified by the event. I afterwards saw Philip of Macedon give laws to Greece, and since my return to Scythia, have learnt that his son had overthrown the Persian empire. Both followed the same system as Jason, who possessed possibly as great abilities as the former, and no less activity than the latter.

It was not till some years after his death that we arrived at Pheræ, a pretty considerable town surrounded with gardens.[h] We expected to have found some remains of that splendour which had rendered it illustrious in the time of Jason; but Alexander then reigned, and presented to Greece a spectacle of which I had no idea, for I had never beheld a tyrant. The throne on which he sat was still reeking with the blood of his predecessors. I have said that Jason was slain by conspirators; his two brothers Polydorus and Polyphron succeeding him, Polyphron murdered Polydorus,[i] and was soon after assassinated by Alexander, who had held the sceptre near eleven years[k] when we arrived at Pheræ.

This cruel prince was a slave to the most groveling vices. Faithless with respect to treaties, and timid and cowardly in battle, he was ambitious of conquests

[g] Philost. de Vit. Sophist. lib. 1. p. 493. Isocr. Panegyr. t. i. p. 209. Id. Orat. ad. Philip. t. i. p. 291. [h] Polyb. lib. 17. p. 756. Liv. lib. 33. c. 6. [i] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 600. [k] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 374.

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only that he might glut his avarice, and entirely abandoned himself to the most infamous and vile debaucheries.[l] A band of fugitives and vagabonds, tainted with every crime, but less flagitious than himself, become his soldiers and his guards, spread desolation over his own kingdom, and among the neighbouring nations. He had been known to enter at their head into an allied city, assemble the citizens under various pretexts in the forum, put them to death, and give their houses up to pillage.[m] His arms were at first attended with some success, but, vanquished at length by the Thebans, in conjunction with several of the states of Thessaly,[n] he was reduced to exercise his fury on his own subjects: some were buried alive,[o] others, inclosed in the skins of bears and wild boars, were pursued and torn by dogs trained to this sort of chase. He made a sport of their torments, and their cries served only to harden his obdurate soul. Yet he surprised himself one day on the point of shedding tears: this happened at a representation of the Troads of Euripides; but he instantly left the theatre, saying, that he should blush indeed if, when he could see the blood of his subjects flow unmoved, he should appear affected at the misfortunes of Hecuba and Andromache.[p]

The inhabitants of Pheræ passed their lives in

[l] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 293. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 385. Plut. in Pelop. ibid. Pausan. lib. 6. p. 463. [n] Id. ibid. p. 390. [o] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 293. [p] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 40. Plut. ibid.

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terror, and in that state of dejection which an excess of oppression naturally produces, and which is in itself an additional misfortune. They dared not even to breathe a sigh, and the wishes which they secretly formed for liberty ended in impotent despair.

Alexander, agitated by the dread with which he tormented others, experienced the common lot of tyrants, that of hating and being hated. In his eyes were discoverable, through the symptoms of cruelty, all that anxiety, distrust, and terror, that harrowed up his soul. Every thing around him was an object of suspicion. He trembled even at the sight of his guards. He took precautions against his wife Thebe, whom he loved with as much fury as jealousy, if we may dignify by the name of love that ferocious passion which impelled him to her person. He passed the night at the top of his palace, in an apartment to which he ascended by a ladder, and the avenues to which were defended by a huge dog, who would have spared neither the king, the queen, nor the slave that supplied him with victuals. Hither the tyrant retired every night, preceded by his slave, who carried a naked sword, and examined every corner of the apartment.[q]

I shall now proceed to relate a singular fact, and shall accompany it with no reflection. Eudemus of Cyprus, in his way from Athens to Macedonia, fell ill at Pheræ.[r] As I had frequently seen him in com-

[q] Cicer. de Offic. lib. 2. c. 7. t. iii. p. 233. Valer. Maxim. lib. 9. c. 13. [r] Aristot. ap. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 25. t. iii. p. 22.

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pany with Aristotle, whose friend he was, I attended him during his sickness with all the care in my power. One evening, when his physicians had assured me that they despaired of his cure, I was seated by his bed: moved at my affliction, he stretched out his hand, and said to me in a dying voice: I may trust a secret to your friendship, which it would be dangerous to reveal to another. Two or three nights since, a young man of astonishing beauty appeared to me in a dream: he warned me that I should recover and return to my country in five years; and as a token of the truth of his prediction, added, that the tyrant had but a few days to live. I considered this story of Eudemus as a proof that he was seized by a delirium, and returned home overwhelmed with grief.

The next morning, at break of day, we were awakened by repeated acclamations: He is dead, the tyrant is no more; he has perished by the hands of the queen! We ran directly to the palace, where we saw the body of Alexander abandoned to the insults of the populace, who were trampling him under their feet,[a] and extolling in transports the courage of the queen; for she, from her hatred of tyranny, or to avenge her personal injuries, had put herself at the head of the conspiracy. Some said that Alexander was on the point of repudiating her; others, that he had put to death a young Thessalian who was her favourite; and others again, that Pelopidas, who some

[a] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 298. Quintil. lib. 7. c. 1. page 410.
[b] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 60.

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years before had fallen into the hands of Alexander, had, whilst a prisoner, an interview with the queen, and exhorted her, by restoring her country to freedom, to render herself worthy of her birth,[w] for she was the daughter of king Jason. However this may be, Thebe having formed her plan, told her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaus, and Lycophron, that her husband was determined on their destruction; and from that moment they resolved on his. The preceding day she kept them concealed in the palace:[x] in the evening, Alexander, intoxicated with wine, ascended to his apartment, threw himself on his bed, and went to sleep. Thebe immediately came down, sent the slave and the dog out of the way, returned with the conspirators, and seized the sword suspened at the head of the bed. At this moment their courage had nearly failed them; but Thebe threatening, if they hesitated, to awaken the king, they fell upon him, and put an end to his life with repeated blows.

I immediately went to impart this news to Eudemus, who did not seem surprised at it. He soon recovered his strength, and died five years after in Sicily. Aristotle, who has since dedicated a dialogue on the soul to the memory of his friend,[y] has alleged that the dream was accomplished in all its circumstances, since to leave the world by death is to return to our country.[z]

The conspirators, after suffering the inhabitants of

[w] Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 297. [x] Id. ibid. [y] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 967. [z] Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 25. t. iii. p. 22.

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Pheræ to breathe awhile, divided the sovereign power between them, and committed so many acts of injustice, that they compelled their subjects to call in Philip of Macedon to their succour.[a] He came, and not only expelled the tyrants of Pheræ, but those who had established themselves in other cities. The signal service he thus rendered to the Thessalians so attached them to his interest,[b] that they followed him in most of his enterprises, and greatly contributed to his future success.

After having visited the environs of Pheræ, and especially its harbour, named Pagasæ, which is at the distance of ninety stadia from the city,*[c] we made an excursion into the southern parts of Magnesia, and afterward inclined our course towards the north, keeping the chain of mountains called Pelion on our right. This country is delightful, from the mildness of the climate, the variety of the prospects it affords, and the number of valleys formed by the branches of the mountains Pelion and Ossa, more particularly in the northern part.

On one of the summits of Mount Pelion stands a temple dedicated to Jupiter; and near it is the celebrated cave in which Chiron is said formerly to have dwelt,[d] and which still bears his name. We ascended this part of the mountain in the train of a procession of young people, who go annually, in the name of one of the adjacent towns, to offer a sacrifice to the

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418. [b] Isocr. Orat. ad. Philip. t. i. p. 238. * Three leagues and a half. [c] Strab. lib. 9. p. 436. [d] Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 181. Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 29.

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sovereign of the gods. Though it was the middle of summer, and the heat excessive at the foot of the mountain, we were obliged to follow their example, and cover ourselves with thick garments. The cold at this height is extremely sharp; but its severity is less felt by the traveller, because his attention is engaged by the magnificent prospect of the sea on one side, and the plains of Thessaly on the other.

The mountain is covered with firs, cypresses, cedars, and a variety of trees;[e] as also different kinds of simples much used in medicine.[f] We were shown a root resembling thyme in its smell, which, as we were told, is fatal to serpents, and, if taken in wine, is an antidote against their bite.[g] A certain shrub grows here likewise, the root of which is a remedy for the gout, the bark for the colic, and the leaves for defluxions in the eyes;[h] but the secret of preparing and using it is in the hands of a single family, who pretend that it has been transmitted to them from father to son, from the time of Chiron the centaur, to whom they ascribe its discovery. They derive no advantage from it, but think it their duty gratuitously to distribute these remedies to such sick persons as come to solicit their assistance.

Descending from the mountain with the procession, we were invited to the entertainment which concludes the ceremony. We then saw a kind of

[e] Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 27. [f] Id. ibid. p. 30. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 367; lib. 9. c. 15. p. 1117. [g] Dicæarch. ibid. page 28. [h] Dicæarch. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. page 30.

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dance performed, peculiar to some of the people of Thessaly, and well calculated to excite the courage and vigilance of the inhabitants of the country.[i] A Magnesian presents himself with his arms, which he lays down, and imitates the gestures and manner of a man sowing and tilling his field in time of war. Fear is depicted in his countenance; he turns his head on every side, and perceives one of the enemy's soldiers endeavouring to surprise him; he instantly seizes his arms, attacks the soldier, defeats him, fastens him to his oxen, and drives him before him. All these movements are performed in cadence to the sound of the flute.

Continuing our journey, we arrived at Sycurium. This town, situate on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ossa, commands a fine prospect of a rich country. The purity of the air, and the number of streams which water the neighbouring lands, render it one of the most agreeable places of residence in Greece.[k] From hence to Larissa the country is fertile and very populous. It increases in beauty as we approach this city, which is justly deemed the first and richest in Thessaly. The river Peneüs, which rolls its transparent waters at the foot of its walls, greatly contributes to its embellishment.

We lodged at the house of Amyntor, where we found every accommodation to be expected from the ancient friendship by which he was attached to the father of Philotas.

[i] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 6. page 371.
[k] Liv. lib. 42. c. 54.
[l] Plin. lib. 4. c. 8. t. i. p. 200.

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We were impatient to visit Tempe. This name, which is common to several valleys in the district, is more particularly given to that formed by the approach of Mount Olympus and Mount Ossa. It is the only high road from Thessaly to Macedon. Amyntor gave us his company. We took a boat, and embarked at sun-rise on the Peneüs, the fifteenth of the month Metageitnion.* We presently came in sight of several towns, such as Phalanna, Gyrton, Elatea, Mopsium, and Homolis; some seated on the banks of the river, others on the adjoining heights.[a] After passing the mouth of the Titaresius, the waters of which are not so clear as those of the Peneüs,[b] we arrived at Gonnus, distant one hundred and sixty stadia[c]† from Larissa. The valley here begins, and the river is shut in between Mount Ossa on the right, and Olympus on the left, which is something more than ten stadia in height.‡

According to an ancient tradition, these mountains were separated by an earthquake that opened a passage for the waters which overflowed the country.[d] It is certain, however, that if this passage were obstructed, the Peneüs could no longer find a way; for this river, which receives several others in its course, flows through a country that gradually rises from its banks to the surrounding hills and mountains; on

* The 10th of August of the year 357 before Christ. [a] Liv. lib. 42. c. 61. [b] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 754. Strab. lib. 9. p. 441. [c] Liv. lib. 36. c. 10. † Six leagues. ‡ 960 toises (6138 feet, or one mile 285 yards). See note XVII. at the end of the volume. [d] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 129. Strab. lib. 9. p. 430.

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which account it has been said, that had not the Thessalians submitted to Xerxes, that monarch would have taken possession of Gonnus, and there have constructed a dyke and stopped the stream of the river.[q]

This town is very important from its situation; it is the key of Thessaly on the side of Macedonia,[r] as the pass of Thermopylæ is on the side of Phocis.

The valley stretches from south-west to north-east;[s] its length is forty stadia,[t]* and its greatest breadth about two stadia and a half;[u]† but in some places it becomes so narrow that it does not appear to be above a hundred feet wide.[x]‡

The mountains are covered with poplars, planes, and ash-trees of astonishing beauty.[y] From their sides gush forth springs of water as pure as crystal.[z] and from the intervals which separate their summits issues a cool air, which the traveller breathes with indescribable pleasure. The river almost every where presents him with a placid stream, and in certain places embraces islands, which it maintains in perpetual verdure.[a] Grottos excavated in the hill sides,[b]

[q] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 130. [r] Liv. lib. 42. c. 67. [s] Pococke, vol. iii. p. 152. Manuscript note of Mr. Stuart. [t] Plin. lib. 4. c. 8. t. i. p. 200. Liv. lib. 44. c. 6. * About a league and a half. [u] Manuscript note of Mr. Stuart. † About 236 toises (502 yards, or two furlongs 62 yards). [x] Plin. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. Perizon. ibid. Salmas. in Solin. p. 583. ‡ About 94 French feet, (or 100 English.) [y] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 6. Catul. Epithal. Pel. et Thetid. Plut. in Flamin. p. 370. Hesych. in Τεμπ. [z] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. [a] Pococke, Description of the East, t. iii. p. 152. [b] Manuscript note of Mr. Stuart.

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and plots of grass extending along the banks of the river, seem to indicate the asylum of repose and pleasure. But what we most admired was a kind of intelligent plan in the distribution of the ornaments which embellished these retired scenes. Elsewhere art strives to imitate nature; but here nature seems to endeavour to imitate art. Laurels and different kinds of shrubs form themselves into arbours and groves, and exhibit a beautiful contrast with the clumps of trees dispersed over the foot of Olympus.[c] The rocks are clothed with a species of ivy, and the trees, ornamented with plants which wind around their trunks,[d] interweave their branches, and drop in festoons and garlands. Every object, in a word, on this enchanting spot, contributes to complete the most picturesque scenery. The eye is charmed with freshness on every side, and the soul seems to receive a new portion of life.

The sensations of the Greeks are so lively, and the climate they inhabit is so warm, that we cannot be surprised at the emotions they experience at the sight, nay even at the recollection of this charming valley. To the picture I have been sketching I must add, that in the spring it is every where enamelled with flowers, and that birds without number send forth their warblings,[e] rendered, as it were, still more melodious and tender by the solitude and season.

In the mean time we continued gently to follow

[c] Manuscript note of Mr. Stuart. [d] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. Plin. lib. 16. c. 44. t. ii. p. 41. [e] Plin. lib. 4. c. 8. t. i. p. 209.

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the course of the Peneüs, and my eyes, though attracted by a multitude of pleasing objects, incessantly reverted to the river. Sometimes I beheld its waters glittering through the foliage that overshaded its banks;[f] sometimes approaching the shore, I contemplated the peaceful succession of its waves,[g] which seemed mutually to sustain each other, and pursued their course without tumult and without effort. Such, said I to Amyntor, is the image of a pure and tranquil soul: one virtue naturally arises from another, and all act in concert and in peace. The foreign shade of vice alone heightens their lustre by its opposition. Amyntor replied, I will now show you the image of ambition, and the fatal effects which it produces.

He then conducted me into one of the narrow passes of Mount Ossa, which tradition has made the scene of the combat between the Titans and the gods. There an impetuous torrent rushes precipitately over a bed of rocks, shaking them by the violence of its fall. We came to a spot where the waves, violently compressed, were labouring to force a passage. They dashed against each other, flew up, and fell back roaring into a gulf, whence they shot forth again with redoubled fury to break and foam in the air.

My whole attention was fixed on this scene, when casting my eyes around me, I found myself inclosed between two black and arid mountains, furrowed through the whole extent of their sides by deep chasms. Near their summits the clouds moved hea-

[f] Plin. lib. 4. c. 8. t. i. p. 200. [g] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. Procop. Ædif. lib. 4. c. 3. p. 72.

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vily along amid funereal trees, or remained suspended over their sterile branches. Below I beheld nature in ruins; mountains crumbled down lay covered with their own fragments, and presented to the eye only menacing rocks confusedly piled up. What power, said I, has torn asunder the bands of these enormous masses? Was it the fury of the northern blasts? Was it a total overthrow of the globe? or was it indeed the terrible vengeance of the gods against the Titans?—I know not: but to this terrific valley should conquerors come to contemplate the picture of the ravages with which they afflict the earth.

We hastened to leave this place, and found our attention excited by the melodious sounds of a lyre,[h] and by voices still more enchanting. This was the *Theoria,* or deputation sent to Tempe every ninth year by the inhabitants of Delphi.[i] They allege that Apollo came to their city with a crown and branch of laurel gathered in this valley, and that it is in commemoration of this circumstance that they send the deputation we now saw arrive. It was composed of the most beautiful youths of Delphi. They offered a pompous sacrifice on an altar erected near the banks of the Peneüs, and, after cutting branches from the same laurel tree whence the god had taken his crown, they departed singing hymns.

On coming out of the valley, the most beautiful scene that can be imagined opened to our view. We surveyed an immense plain covered with houses and

[h] Plut. de Music. t. ii. p. 1136. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 220. [i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1.

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trees, in which the river, enlarging its channel and becoming more gentle in its course, seems to multiply itself by innumerable windings. At the distance of some stadia appears the Thermaïc gulf; beyond it is seen the Peninsula of Pallene, while at a still greater distance Mount Athos finally terminates this noble prospect.[k]

We intended to return in the evening to Gonnus; but a violent storm obliged us to pass the night in a house situate on the sea-shore, the habitation of a Thessalian, who received us with the utmost hospitality. He had resided some time at the court of king Cotys, and during supper entertained us with some anecdotes relative to that prince.

Cotys, said he, is the wealthiest, the most voluptuous, and most intemperate of the Thracian kings. Besides other branches of revenue, he annually receives upwards of two hundred talents * from the harbours which he possesses in the Chersonesus,[l] yet his treasures scarcely suffice to gratify his various caprices.

In summer he wanders, attended by his court, in forests, through which are cut magnificent high roads. Whenever he meets with a pleasing prospect and refreshing shades near the banks of a rivulet, there he halts, and resigns himself to all the excesses of the table. At present he is hurried away by a delirium which would only excite pity, did not folly joined to power render passions cruel. Who do you imagine is the

[k] Manuscript note of Mr. Stuart. * Upwards of 1,080,000 livres (45,000*l.*) [l] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 743.

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object of his love? Minerva. At first he commanded one of his mistresses to adorn herself with the insignia of that divinity; but as this expedient only contributed to inflame him more, he determined to espouse the goddess. The nuptials were celebrated with the greatest magnificence; I was invited to the wedding. He waited impatiently for his bride, and in the interval got drunk. Towards the end of the entertainment, one of his guards went, by his order, to the tent in which the nuptial bed was prepared, and on his return, informing him that Minerva was not yet arrived, Cotys pierced him with an arrow, which laid him dead on the place. Another of his guards underwent the same fate. A third, warned by their example, said, that he had just seen the goddess, who was in bed, and had been long waiting for the king. At these words, suspecting he had obtained the favours of his spouse, he flew upon him in a rage, and tore him in pieces with his own hands.[m]

Such was the narrative of the Thessalian. Some time after two brothers, Heraclides and Python, conspired against Cotys, and put him to death. The Athenians having alternately had reason to be satisfied with, and to complain of this prince, at the beginning of his reign decreed him a crown of gold with the privileges of a citizen; and after his death conferred the same honours on his assassins.[n]

The storm ended with the night; and, when we

[m] Athen. lib. 12. c. 8. p. 531. [n] Demosth. in Aristocr. p. 744.

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awoke, the sea was calm, and the sky serene: we returned to the valley, where we saw preparations for a festival annually celebrated by the Thessalians, in commemoration of the earthquake, which, by giving a passage to the waters of the Peneüs, drained the beautiful plains of Larissa.

The inhabitants of Gonnus, Homolis, and other adjacent towns, successively arrived in the valley. Incense was burning on all sides,[o] and the river covered with boats perpetually going up and coming down. Tables were spread in the thickets, on the lawn, on the banks of the river, in the little islands, and near the springs which gush out of the mountains. This festival is remarkable for the following singularity: during its celebration there is no distinction between the slaves and their masters, or rather the former are served by the latter. This new authority they exercise with a liberty which sometimes is carried to licentiousness, and which serves only to increase the general mirth. With the pleasures of the table are mingled those of dancing, music, and many other exercises, which are continued till the night is very far advanced.

We returned the next day to Larissa, and a few days after had an opportunity of seeing a bull-fight. I had already been a witness to several, in different towns of Greece;[p] but the Larissæans are the most remark-

[o] Athen. lib. 14. p. 639. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3. c. 1. Meurs. in Πελώρ. [p] Plin. lib. 8. c. 45. t. i. p. 472. Sueton. in Claud. c. 21. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 10. p. 498. Salmas. in Pollion. p. 286.

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able for their skill and address. The scene lay in the neighbourhood of that town: several bulls were let loose, and attacked by the same number of horsemen, who pursued and goaded them with a kind of darts. Each horseman must confine himself to one bull, gallop by the side of him, alternately irritate and avoid him, and, after exhausting the strength of the animal, seize him by the horns, and throw him down, without dismounting from his horse. Sometimes he rushes on the bull foaming with rage, and, disregarding the violent shocks he frequently encounters, brings him to the ground in the sight of an immense multitude of spectators, who celebrate his triumph.

This town is governed by a small number of magistrates, who are elected by the people, and who think themselves bound to flatter their constituents, and sacrifice their welfare to their caprices.[q]

Naturalists affirm, that since a passage has been formed to let off the stagnant waters which covered the environs of this town in many places, the air is become purer and much colder. They allege two observations in support of this opinion. Olive trees formerly were very numerous and flourishing in this district; at present they are unable to endure the severity of the winters: the vines too are often frozen, which in former times was never known to happen.[r]

It was now autumn; and as this season is usually

[q] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 394. [r] Theophr. de Caus. Plant. lib. 5. c. 20.

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very fine in Thessaly, and of long continuance,* we made some excursions to the neighbouring towns; but the time of our departure being arrived, we resolved to pass through Epirus, and accordingly took the road to Gomphi, a town situate at the foot of Mount Pindus.

* Id. Hist. Plant. lib. 3. c. 7.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

*Tour through Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia.—Oracle of Dodona.—Leap of Leucate.**

Mount Pindus separates Thessaly from Epirus. We passed it above Gomphi,[t] and entered the country of the Athamanians. From hence we might have made a visit to the oracle of Dodona, which is at no great distance; but besides the difficulty of passing mountains already covered with snow, and the extreme severity of the winter at that place,[u] we had seen so many oracles in Bœotia, that they inspired us with disgust rather than curiosity: we resolved therefore to pursue our journey directly to Ambracia by a very short but rugged road.[x]

This city, which was founded by a colony from Corinth,[y] is situate on a gulf, which bears likewise the name of Ambracia.[z]† To the west flows the river Arethon; and to the eastward is an eminence on which stands a citadel. The walls are about twenty-four stadia in circumference.[a]‡ Within the city the eye is

* See the general map of Greece. [t] Liv. lib. 32. cap. 14. [u] Homer. Iliad. 2. v. 750. [x] Liv. ibid. cap. 15. [y] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 80. [z] Strab. lib. 7. p. 325. † This is the same gulf in which the battle of Actium was fought. See the plan and description of it in the Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxxii. p. 513. [a] Liv. lib. 38. c. 4. ‡ Almost a league. See table ix. vol. 6

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attracted by temples and other beautiful monuments;[b] and without, by fertile plains of great extent.[c] We passed a few days here, and acquired some general knowledge of Epirus.

Mount Pindus to the east, and the gulf of Ambracia to the south, in some measure separate Epirus from the rest of Greece. Different chains of mountains cover the interior part of the country; towards the sea-coast we meet with pleasing prospects and [illegible] plains.[d] Among the rivers by which it is watered, the most remarkable are, the Acheron, which falls into a morass of the same name, and the Cocytus, whose waters are of a disagreeable flavour.[e] Not far distant is the lake Avernus or Avernus, from which exhale pestilential vapours that infect the air.[f] By these marks it is easy to recognise the country where, in the earliest ages, men had placed the infernal mansions. As Epirus was at that time the last country known towards the west, it was considered as the region of darkness; but, in proportion as the limits of the known world extended on that side, hell changed its position, and was successively placed in Italy and Iberia, but uniformly in those parts where the light of day seemed to be extinguished.

Epirus possesses several tolerable harbours. The inhabitants export, among other articles, from this province, fleet horses for racing,[g] and large shep-

[b] Dicæarch. v. 28. ap. Geogr. Min. tom. ii. p. 3. [c] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. cap. 27. page 827 et 828. Liv. lib. 38. cap. 3. [d] Strab. ibid. p. 324. [e] Pausan. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 40. [f] Id. lib. 9. c. 30. p. 768. Plin. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 188. [g] Achil. Tat. lib. 1. v. 420.

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herds' dogs, which bear some resemblance to the Epirotes their masters, the slightest provocation putting them into a rage.[h] Certain quadrupeds here attain to a prodigious size: a person must stand upright, or stoop but a little, to milk their cows, which give a surprising quantity of milk.[i]

I was told of a fountain in the country of the Chaönians impregnated with salt, to extract which the water is boiled and evaporated, when it leaves a saline crust white as snow.[k]

Besides several Greek colonies settled in different districts of Epirus,[l] there are in this country fourteen ancient nations, most of them barbarous and dispersed in rude towns;[m] some of whom at different periods have had various forms of government;[n] others, as the Molossi, who for the last nine centuries have obeyed a succession of princes of the same family. This is one of the most ancient and most illustrious houses of Greece, deriving its origin from Pyrrhus son of Achilles, whose descendants from father to son have possessed a throne which has never experienced the slightest concussion. Philosophers attribute the permanency of this kingdom to the limited authority of the prince, alleging, that the less the power possessed by sovereigns, the less are they ambitious and in-

[h] Ælian. de Animal. lib. 3. c. 2. Suid. in Μολος. [i] Aristot. Hist. Anim. lib. 3. cap. 21. t. i. p. 812. [k] Id. Meteor. lib. 2. cap. 3. [l] Demosth. de Halon. p. 73. [m] Theop. ap. Strab. lib. 7. page 323. Scylax, Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. 1. page 2. [n] Homer. Odyss. 14. v. 315. Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 80. [o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 11. t. ii. p. 406.

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clined to despotism.[o] The stability of this state is maintained by ancient usage. When a prince succeeds to the throne, the nation assembles in one of the principal cities. After the ceremonies prescribed by religion, the sovereign and his subjects mutually engage by an oath, taken at the altars, the former to reign according to the laws, the latter to defend the prince so long as he shall act conformably to those laws.[p]

This custom began in the last century, when a remarkable revolution took place in the government and manners of the Molossi.[q] One of their kings left at his death an only son, yet in the tender age of childhood, and whose education appeared to the people the most important of their cares. They intrusted it to men of wisdom, who formed the project of bringing up their pupil far from the temptations of pleasure and of flattery. They took him to Athens, and in that republic he learnt the reciprocal duties of sovereigns and subjects. On his return to his dominions he exhibited a true greatness of mind, by prescribing bounds to his own authority. He established a senate, laws, and magistrates. Letters soon flourished under his auspices and by his example. The Molossi, by whom he was adored, became soon more civilized in their manners, and assumed the superiority inseparable from improvement and knowledge over the barbarous nations of Epirus.

In one of the northern districts of Epirus stands

[p] Plut. in Pyrrh. t. i. p. 385. [q] Plut. in Pyrrh. t. i. p. 383. Justin. lib. 17. c. 3.

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the town of Dodona, in which is the temple of Jupiter, and the most ancient oracle of Greece.[1] It subsisted in remote ages, when the inhabitants had but a confused idea of the divinity; yet were they already anxious to pierce the veil of futurity: so true is it, that the desire of knowing is one of the most ancient, as it is one of the most fatal, maladies of the human mind. There is another too of no less antiquity among the Greeks, which is their practice of referring to preternatural causes not only the phenomena of nature, but the customs and institutions with the origin of which they are unacquainted. When we pursue the chain of their traditions, we find them all terminate in prodigies. Nothing less, therefore, was necessary to institute the oracle of Dodona, and the following is the account given of its origin by the priestesses of the temple.[2]

Once on a time, two black pigeons flew from the city of Thebes in Egypt, and alighted the one in Libya, and the other at Dodona. The latter sitting on an oak distinctly pronounced these words; "Institute on this spot an oracle in honour of Jupiter." The other pigeon enjoined the same thing to the inhabitants of Libya, and both were considered as the interpreters of the will of the gods. However absurd this story may be, it appears to have a sort of foundation in fact. The Egyptian priests maintain, that two priestesses carried their sacred rites in former times to Libya and Dodona; and in the language

[1] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 52. [2] Id. ibid. c. 55.

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of the ancient people of Epirus, the same word signifies both a pigeon and an old woman.[t]

Dodona is situate at the foot of Mount Tomaris,[u] in which rise a number of inexhaustible springs. It is indebted for its wealth and fame to the strangers who come to consult the oracle. The temple of Jupiter and the porticos around it are decorated with innumerable statues, and offerings from almost every nation on earth.[x] The sacred forest is close to the temple,[y] and among the oaks of which it is composed there is one that bears the name of the divine or prophetic oak, which for a long series of ages[z] has been consecrated by the piety of nations.

Not far from the temple is a spring which is every day dry at noon, and at its greatest height at midnight, between which times it continues gradually to increase and decrease. It is said likewise to exhibit a still more extraordinary phenomenon. Though its water is cold, and extinguishes lighted torches plunged into it, yet it lights torches which are extinguished when they are brought within a certain distance.[a*] The forest of Dodona is surrounded by morasses, but the territory in general is very fertile, and numerous flocks roam over its rich meadows.[b]

[t] Strab. in Suppl. lib. 7. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 103. Serv. in Virg. Eclog. 9. v. 13. Schol. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 175. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. v. Hist. p. 35. [u] Strab. lib. 7. p. 328. Theop. ap. Plin. lib. 4. c. 1. t. i. p. 188. [x] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 331; lib. 5. p. 358. [y] Serv. in Virg. Georg. lib. 1. v. 149. [z] Pausan. lib. 8. p. 643. [a] Plin. lib. 2, c. 103. t. i. p. 120. Mela, lib. 2. c. 3. [a*] See note XVIII. at the end of the volume. [b] Apoll. ap. Strab. lib. 7. p. 328. Hesiod. ap. Schol. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 1183.

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The decisions of the oracle are delivered by three priestesses,[c] except to the Bœotians, who must receive them from some of the ministers appertaining to the temple.[d] This people having once consulted the oracle on an enterprise which they meditated, the priestess answered: "Commit an act of impiety, and you will succeed." The Bœotians, who suspected her of favouring the enemy, threw her immediately into the fire, saying: "If the priestess deceives us, she merits death; if she speaks the truth, we obey the oracle by committing an impious action." The two other priestesses attempted to justify their companion, alleging that the oracle had merely commanded the Bœotians to carry away the sacred tripods they had in their own temple, and convey them to that of Jupiter at Dodona. It was, however, determined, that the priestesses should never more answer the questions of the Bœotians.

The gods reveal their secrets to the priestesses of this temple in various modes. Sometimes these women go into the sacred forest, and placing themselves by the prophetic tree,[e] attentively observe the murmur of its leaves agitated by the zephyrs, or the groaning of its branches beaten by the storm. At other times, stopping at the side of a spring which gushes from the foot of this tree,[f] they listen to the noise produced by

[c] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 55. Strab. lib. 7. p. 329. [d] Strab. lib. 9. p. 402. [e] Homer. Odyss. lib. 14. v. 328. Æschyl. in Prom. v. 831. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 174. Eustath. in Hom. Iliad. 2. t. i. p. 335. Philostr. Icon. lib. 2. c. 34, &c. [f] Serv. in Virg. Æneid. lib. 3. v. 466.

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the bubbling of its fleeting waters: they carefully remark the gradations of the sounds that strike their ear, and, considering them as presages of future events, interpret them according to established rules, or, more frequently, in conformity to the interest of those who consult them.

They observe the same method to explain the noise produced by the clashing of several copper basons suspended round the temple,[g] and which are so placed as to be all put in motion if one is struck. The priestess, attentive to the sound as it is communicated, modified, and dies away, deduces from this confused din a variety of predictions.

Nor is this all: near the temple are two columns,[h] on one of which is a brazen vessel, and on the other, the figure of a child holding a whip with three little brass thongs or flexible chains, with a knob at the end of each. As the town of Dodona is much exposed to the wind, these chains are almost continually striking the vessel, and produce a sound of considerable duration,[i] the continuance of which the priestess is accustomed to calculate, and make subservient to her designs.

The oracle is consulted likewise by way of lot. This is done by putting scrolls or dice into an urn, whence they are fortuitously drawn. Once, when the

[g] Mened. ap. Steph. Fragm. in Dodon. Eustath. in Odyss. lib. 14. t. iii. p. 1760. [h] Aristot. ap. Suid. in Δωδών, et ap. Eustath. ibid. Polem. ap. Steph. ibid. Δωδώνη. Strab. Suppl. lib. 7. p. 329. ap. Geogr. Min. t. ii. p. 103. [i] Philostr. Icon. lib. 2. c. 34. p. 859. Strab. Suppl. ibid.

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Lacedæmonians had chosen this method to inquire concerning the success of a certain expedition, the monkey of the king of the Molossi leaped upon the table, overset the urn, and scattered the lots, upon which the priestess in consternation exclaimed: "That the Lacedæmonians, far from hoping for victory, should think only of their safety." The deputies on their return declared this incident at Sparta, and never did any event produce such general terror among that nation of warriors.[k]

The Athenians preserve several answers of the oracle of Dodona. I shall transcribe one, to give a general idea of the spirit by which they were dictated.

"Thus saith the priest of Jupiter to the Athenians: You have suffered the time of the sacrifices and deputation to elapse: send your deputies as soon as possible; and, besides the presents already decreed by the people, let them offer to Jupiter nine oxen fit for the plough, and let each ox be accompanied by two sheep; let them bring for Dione a table of bronze, an ox, and other victims."[l]

This Dione was the daughter of Uranus, and shares with Jupiter the incense burnt at the temple of Dodona;[m] an association of divinities which tends to multiply sacrifices and oblations.

Such were the accounts given us at Ambracia. In the mean time the winter was approaching, and

[k] Cicer. de Divin. t. iii. lib. 1. c. 34. p. 3: lib. 2. c. 32. p. 72.
[l] Demosth. in Mid. page 611. Tayl. in eamd. Orat. page 179.
[m] Strab. lib. 7. p. 329.

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we began to think of leaving this town. We found a trading vessel ready to sail for Naupactus, situated in the gulf of Crissa. We were taken on board as passengers, and, as soon as the weather settled, sailed out of the harbour and gulf of Ambracia. We soon fell in with the peninsula of Leucadia, which is separated from the continent by a very narrow isthmus. Here we saw some mariners, who, to avoid making the circuit of the peninsula, were employed in carrying a vessel over this neck of land.[a] Ours being much larger, we determined to coast along the western part of Leucadia, and at its extremity came to a promontory formed by a very high and steep mountain, on the summit of which stands the temple of Apollo, which the sailors discover and salute at a great distance. Here we were witnesses to a scene which inspired me with horror.[b]

Whilst a great number of boats were ranging themselves in a circular form at the foot of the rock, we saw a multitude of people striving to reach its summit. Some stopped when they got near the temple; others were clambering up the craggy cliffs, as if to be spectators of some extraordinary sight. Their motions however indicated no mischievous designs, and we were perfectly at ease, when on a sudden we saw several of these men, who stood on a detached part of the rock, seize one of the number, and precipitate him into the sea, amid the loud shouts

[a] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 81. [b] Strab. lib. 10. p. 458.

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of the spectators, as well those on the mountain as in the boats. This man was covered with feathers, and had birds fastened to his body, which by spreading their wings might serve to break his fall. No sooner did he touch the sea than the boatmen hastened to his assistance, drew him out, and bestowed on him all the attention to be expected from the tenderest friendship.[p] I was so affected at the first moment, that I could not help exclaiming: Ah, barbarians! is it thus that you sport with the lives of men? But the persons on board the vessel diverted themselves with my surprise and indignation. A citizen of Ambracia at length said to me: This people, who annually celebrate on this day the festival of Apollo, are accustomed to offer an expiatory sacrifice to the god, and to avert on the head of the victim all the calamities with which they may be threatened: for this purpose they make choice of a criminal condemned to die, who rarely perishes in the waves, and, after they have saved him, he is banished for ever from the territory of Leucadia.[q]

You will be still more astonished, added the Ambraciot, when I inform you of a strange opinion which has been introduced among the Greeks. They imagine that the leap of Leucate is a potent remedy against the violence of love.[r] Disappointed lovers have frequently been known to come to Leucadia, ascend this promontory called Leucate, offer sacrifices

[p] Strab. lib. 10. p. 452. Ampel. Memor. c. 8. [q] Strab. ib.
[r] Ptolem. Hephæst. ap. Phot. p. 491.

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in the temple of Apollo, engage by a formal vow to perform the desperate act, and voluntarily precipitate themselves into the sea.

It is said that some have recovered from the effects of this fall; and, among others, we are told of a citizen of Buthroton in Epirus, whose passions always taking fire at new objects, four times had recourse to the same remedy, and always with the same success.[s] As those who made the trial, however, seldom took any precaution to render their fall less rapid, they have generally been destroyed; and women have often fallen victims to this act of desperation.

At Leucate travellers are shown the tomb of Artemisia, that celebrated queen of Caria who gave so many proofs of courage at the battle of Salamis.[t] Inflamed with a violent passion for a young man who inflexibly refused her love, she surprised him in his sleep, and put out his eyes. Regret and despair soon brought her to Leucate, where she perished in the waves, notwithstanding every effort to save her.[u]

Such, likewise, was the end of the unhappy Sappho. Forsaken by her lover Phaon, she came hither to seek relief from her sufferings, and found her death.[x] These examples have brought the leap of Leucate into such discredit, that few lovers of the present day attempt to obtain a cure by so dangerous an experiment.

[s] Ptolem. Hephæst. ap. Phot. p. 491. [t] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 87. [u] Ptolem. Hephæst. ibid. [x] Menand. ap. Strab. lib. 10. p. 452.

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Pursuing our course, we saw to the right the isles of Ithaca and Cephallenia, and to the left the coasts of Acarnania. In this province we meet with some considerable towns,[y] many small fortified places,[z] and several nations of different origins,[a] but associated in one general confederacy, and almost always at war with the Ætolians their neighbours, whose states are separated from theirs by the river Achelöus. The Acarnanians are faithful to their promise, and extremely jealous of their liberty.[b]

After passing the mouth of the Achelöus, we coasted during a whole day along the shores of Ætolia.[c] This country, in which there are fertile plains, is inhabited by a warlike nation,[d] divided into several tribes, in general of Greek origin, though some of them still retain relics of their ancient barbarism, by speaking a language very difficult to understand, living on raw flesh, and inhabiting defenceless villages.[e] These various tribes, uniting together, have formed a powerful association, similar to that of the Bœotians, Thessalians, and Acarnanians. They assemble yearly by deputies in the city of Thermus, to elect their chief.[f] The pomp displayed on the occasion, the games, festivals, and concourse of merchants and spectators, render this a no less splendid than august assembly.[g]

[y] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 102. [z] Diod. Sic. lib. 19. p. 708. [a] Strab. lib. 7. p. 321. [b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 299. [c] Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. v. 63. p. 5. Scyl. Perip. p. 14. [d] Strab. lib. 10. p. 450. Palmer. Græc. Antiq. p. 423. [e] Thucyd. lib. 3. c. 94. [f] Strab. lib. 10. p. 463. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. c. 74. p. 805. [g] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. lib. 5. p. 357.

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The Ætolians regard neither alliance nor treaties. When war breaks out between their neighbours, they suffer them mutually to enfeeble each other, then fall upon them, and carry off the spoils from the victors. This they call *pillaging amongst the pillage*.[k]

They are greatly addicted to piracy, as are also the Acarnanians, and the Ozolian Locrians. None of the inhabitants of this coast annex any idea of injustice or infamy to this practice. It is the remains of the manners of ancient Greece, as is the custom of never quitting their arms even in time of peace.[l] Their horsemen are very formidable when they fight man to man, but much less so in a regular battle. The very reverse of this is to be remarked of the Thessalians.[k]

To the east of the Acheloüs lions are found, as they are likewise ascending towards the north, as far as the river Nestus in Thrace. It should seem as if in this long tract of country they occupied a slip of land bounded by these two rivers; by the former to the west, and by the latter to the eastward. These animals are said to be unknown in the rest of Europe.[l]

After four days' sailing[m] we arrived at Naupactus, a town situated at the foot of a mountain[n] in the country of the Ozolian Locrians. On the shore we

[k] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. lib. 17. p. 746. [l] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 5. [k] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 278. [l] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 126. Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 6. c. 31. t. i. page 884. [m] Scylax. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 12, &c. Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. t. ii. p. 4. [n] Voyag. de Spon. t. ii. p. 18.

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saw a temple of Neptune, and near it a cave filled with offerings, and dedicated to Venus. We found some widows here who came to request new husbands of the goddess.*

The next day we went on board a small vessel, which conveyed us to Pegæ, a seaport town of Megaris, from whence we returned to Athens.

* Pausan. lib. 10. p. 898.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

*Tour of Megara.—Corinth.—Sicyon.—Achaia.**

We spent the winter at Athens, impatiently waiting for the season when we might recommence our travels. We had seen the northern provinces of Greece. It still remained for us to visit those of Peloponnesus, the road to which we took at the return of spring.†

After passing through the city of Eleusis, which I shall hereafter notice, we enter Megaris, which separates the states of Athens from those of Corinth, and contains a small number of towns and villages. Megara, which is the capital, was formerly joined to the harbour of Nisæa by two long walls which the inhabitants thought proper to demolish about a century ago.[p] It was long governed by kings.[q] Democracy succeeded, and subsisted till the public orators, to please the multitude, invited them to share amongst them the spoils of the rich citizens. An oligarchical form was then established;[r] but in our time the people have resumed their authority.[s]

The Athenians have not forgotten that this pro-

* See the map of Achaia. † About the month of March of the year 356 before Christ. [p] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 109. Strab. lib. 7. p. 392. [q] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 39. p. 95; cap. 41. p. 99. [r] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 74. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 3. t. ii. p. 388; c. 5. p. 392. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 357.

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vince once formed part of their territories,[t] and would gladly again re-unite it to them; for it might on some occasions serve them as a barrier;[u] but it has more than once drawn on itself their vengeance, by preferring an alliance with Lacedæmon. During the Peloponnesian war they reduced it to the last extremity, by ravaging the whole country,[x] and by prohibiting all commerce between it and their states.[y] In time of peace the Megareans carry to Athens their commodities, and particularly a considerable quantity of salt, which they collect on the rocks in the vicinity of the harbour.[z] Though the little territory they possess be as barren as that of Attica,[a] many individuals have become rich by a well-directed economy:[b] and others by a spirit of parsimony,[c] which has procured them the character of having recourse in their treaties, as well as in their trade, to the artifices of perfidy and mercantile meanness.[d]

During the last century their enterprises were sometimes attended with brilliant success; at present their power is at an end; but their vanity has increased with their weakness, and they remember more what they have been than what they are. On the very evening of our arrival, supping with some of the principal citizens, we questioned them concerning the

[t] Strab. lib. 7. p. 392. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 42. p. 101. [u] Demosth. in Philip. 3. p. 95. [x] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 31. Pausan. lib. 1. c. 40. p. 97. [y] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 67. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 520. Id. in Pac. v. 608. Schol. ibid. [z] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 520 et 760. Schol. ibid. [a] Strab. lib. 7. p. 393. [b] Isocr. in Pac. t. i. p. 480. [c] Demosth. in Neær. p. 866. [d] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 738. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Μεγαρ.

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state of their navy; they answered us: In the time of the Persian war we had twenty galleys at the battle of Salamis.[e]—Could you bring a numerous army into the field?—We had three thousand men at the battle of Platæa.[f]—Is your country populous?—It formerly contained so many inhabitants, that we were obliged to send colonies into Sicily,[g] the Propontis,[h] to the Thracian Bosphorus,[i] and the Euxine.[k] They then attempted to justify themselves with respect to some acts of perfidy of which they have been accused,[l] and related to us an anecdote that deserves to be preserved. The inhabitants of Megaris had taken up arms against each other, but it was agreed that the war should not interrupt rustic labours. The soldier who carried off a peasant conducted him to his house, admitted him to his table, and sent him back before he had received the stipulated ransom; but the prisoner never failed to carry it as soon as he could collect the sum. The laws were not enforced against the man who violated his word, but he was universally detested for his ingratitude and infamy.[m] This fact, said I, is not, I believe, of the present times? No, answered they, it happened at the first foundation of this state. I imagined, replied I, that it was to be referred to the ages of ignorance.

On the following days we were shown several

[e] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 45. [f] Id. lib. 9. c. 28. [g] Strab. lib. 6. p. 267. [h] Scymn. in Descr. Orb. v. 715. [i] Strab. lib. 7. p. 320. Scymn. v. 176 et 740. [k] Strab. lib. 7. p. 319. [l] Epistol. Philip. ap. Demosth. p. 114. [m] Plut. Quæst. Græc. t. ii. p. 295.

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statues, some of wood,[n] which were the most ancient, and others of gold and ivory,[o] which were not the most beautiful: there were also some of marble and brass, executed by Praxiteles and Scopas.[o] We likewise saw the senate-house,[q] and other edifices, built with a very white stone, easy to cut, and full of petrified shells.[r]

This city contains a celebrated school of philosophers:[s] Euclid, its founder, was one of the most zealous disciples of Socrates. Notwithstanding the distance, and the capital punishment decreed by the Athenians against every Megarean, who should dare to enter their territory, he sometimes set out at night, disguised in the dress of a woman, to pass a few moments with his master, and returned by day-break.[t] They employed themselves in examining together in what consisted the real good. Socrates, whose inquiries were solely directed to one point, employed only the simplest methods of investigation; but Euclid, too much familiarized with the writings of Parmenides and the Elean school,[u] had recourse to abstractions: a method often dangerous, and still oftener unintelligible. His principles considerably resembled those of Plato; he maintained, that the real good must be one, always the same, and always similar to itself.[x]

[n] Pausan. lib. 1. cap. 42. p. 102. [o] Id. ibid. c. 40. p. 97; c. 42. p. 101; c. 43. p. 105. [p] Id. ibid. c. 43. p. 105; c. 44. p. 106. [q] Id. ibid. c. 42. p. 101. [r] Id. ibid. c. 44. p. 107. [s] Bruck. Hist. Philos. t. i. p. 610. [t] Aul. Gell. lib. 6. c. 10. [u] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 106. [x] Cicer. Acad. 2. c. 42. t. ii. p. 54.

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These different properties were next to be defined, and that which of all things is the most important for us to know, proved the most difficult to comprehend.

The question was still farther involved in obscurity, by the received method of setting up one proposition against its opposite, and continuing to discuss each at length. A logical weapon, recently discovered, frequently contributed to increase the confusion: I mean the syllogism, which, by its terrible and unexpected strokes, brings the adversary to the ground who has not skill enough to parry them. The subtleties of metaphysics calling to their aids the quirks of logic, words presently took place of things, and students acquired nothing in the schools but a spirit of acrimony and contradiction.

Euclid, perhaps unintentionally, introduced this spirit into his; for he was naturally mild and patient. His brother, who thought he had reason to be offended with him, said to him one day in his passion: "I will lose my life rather than not revenge myself." "And I," answered Euclid, "will lose mine if I do not force you still to love me."[y] But he too often gave way to the pleasure of multiplying and surmounting difficulties, not perceiving that principles frequently shaken, necessarily lose part of their strength.

His successor Eubulides of Miletus, led his disciples through still more slippery and crooked paths. Euclid exercised their minds, Eubulides gave them violent shocks. Both possessed much knowledge and

[y] Plut. de Fratern. Amor. t. ii. p. 489.

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understanding: and this it was proper to premise before I speak of the latter.

We found him surrounded by young men, attentive to all his words, and even his very signs. He told us of the manner in which he trained them to fight, and gave us to understand that he preferred offensive to defensive war. We desired him to favour us with the exhibition of a battle; and, whilst the preparations were making, he told us that he had discovered several new kinds of syllogisms, all wonderfully calculated to enlighten the mind. One was called the veiled; another the bald; a third, the liar; and so with the rest.[z]

I shall make a trial of some in your presence, added he; they will be followed by the contest you have desired: do not judge lightly of them; there are some which puzzle the wisest heads, and reduce them to straits from which they cannot very easily extricate themselves.[a]

At this moment a person veiled from head to foot made his appearance. He asked me if I knew him. I answered, No. Well then, said he, thus I argue: you do not know this man; now, this man is your friend; therefore you do not know your friend.[b] He dropped his veil, and I saw a young Athenian, with whom I was intimately acquainted. Eubulides, immediately addressing himself to Philotas, said to him: Who is a bald man?—The man who has no hair.—

[z] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 108. Menag. ibid. [a] Aristot. de Mor. lib. 7. cap. 2. t. ii. p. 87. Cicer. Acad. 2. cap. 30. t. ii. p. 40. [b] Lucian. de Vitar. Auct. t. p. 563.

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But if he had one left, would he be still bald?—Undoubtedly.—If he had two, three, four? This series of numbers he continued, always increasing it by unity, till Philotas, at length, admitted that the man in question would be no longer bald.—A single hair then, resumed Eubulides, suffices to prevent a man from being bald, yet at first you asserted the contrary.[c] You see, added he, that on the same principle we can prove that one sheep suffices to form a flock, and a single grain to give the exact measure of a bushel. We seemed so astonished at these wretched quibbles, and so embarrassed in our manner, that all the scholars burst into a laugh

The indefatigable Eubulides however continued: —But here is the most difficult knot to unravel. Epimenides has said, that all the Cretans are liars; now he was himself a Cretan: therefore he has lied; therefore the Cretans are not liars; therefore Epimenides has not lied, and therefore the Cretans are liars.[d]

At these words, with eye inflamed, and menacing gestures, the two parties advance, press and repel each other, pouring down a shower of syllogisms, sophisms, and parallogisms, on the heads of their respective antagonists. Presently the darkness thickens, the ranks intermingle, the victors and the vanquished are wounded by their own weapons, or fall into the same snares. Abusive words encounter in the air, and are at length overpowered by the loud shouts that re-echo through the hall.

[c] Menag. ad Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 108. p. 122. [d] Gassend. de Logic. t. i. c. 3. p. 40. Bayl. Dict. Art. Euclid, note D.

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The action was about to recommence, when Philotas observed to Eubulides, that on both sides they seemed more attentive to establish their own opinion than to overturn that of their antagonists, which, said he, is certainly a bad mode of reasoning. On my part I could not refrain from saying, that his pupils seemed much more eager to procure the triumph of error than that of truth: which is a dangerous method of proceeding.[e] He was preparing to answer us, when we were informed that our carriages were waiting. We therefore took leave of him, and, as we returned, lamented the shameful manner in which the sophists abuse their talents, and the dispositions of their scholars.

To bring us to the isthmus of Corinth, our guide conducted us over heights, on a sort of cornice hewn out of the rock, very narrow and steep, and elevated above the sea, on the brow of a mountain, the summit of which reached to the clouds.[f] This was the famous pass where Sciron is said to have taken his station, and, after robbing travellers, precipitated them into the sea, till he was himself put to death in the same manner by Theseus.[g]

Nothing can be more terrifying at first sight than this passage: we dared not cast our eyes on the abyss; the roaring of the waves seemed every moment to warn us that we were suspended between life and death, till at length, familiarized with the danger, we

[e] Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. t. ii. p. 1036.
[f] Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 171. Chandl. Trav. c. 44. p. 198.
[g] Plut. in Thes. t. i. p. 4.

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viewed the interesting scene with an awful pleasure. Impetuous winds, rushing over the summit of the rocks on our right, howled above our heads, and, dividing into eddies, fell perpendicularly on different points of the surface of the sea, harrowing it up, and whitening certain spots of it with foam, whilst in the intermediate spaces it was entirely calm and smooth.[h]

The path we followed is about forty-eight stadia[i]* in length, alternately rising and descending almost to Cromyon, a port and castle of the Corinthians, one hundred and twenty stadia distant from the capital.[k]† Pursuing our journey along the shore by a more commodious and better road, we arrived at that part of the isthmus where it is only forty stadia in breadth.[l]‡

Here the different states of Peloponnesus have occasionally formed intrenchments, when in dread of an invasion:[m] here too are celebrated the Isthmian games, near a temple of Neptune, and a wood of pine-trees consecrated to that god.[n]

The country of the Corinthians is confined within very narrow limits; though it extends more in length along the sea, a vessel may coast from one extremity

[h] Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 436. [i] Plin. lib. 4. c. 7. p. 196. Whel. ibid. * About one league and three quarters. [k] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 45. † Four leagues and a half. [l] Scylax. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 15. Strab. lib. 8. p. 334 et 335. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 14. ‡ About a league and a half. [m] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 46. Isocr. in Paneg. t. i. p. 166. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 380. [n] Pind. Olymp. od. 13. v. 5; Id. Isthm. od. 1. Strab. lib. 8. p. 334 et 335. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 1 page 112.

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to the other in a day.[o] It possesses few rich plains, but is in general uneven, and of indifferent fertility.[p] The wine it produces is but of a bad quality.[q]

The city is seated at the foot of a high hill, on which stands a citadel.[r] To the southward it is defended by the hill itself, which is there extremely steep. Very strong and lofty ramparts protect it on the three other sides. Its circumference is forty stadia;* but as the walls extend along the sides of the hill, and surround the citadel, it may on the whole be reckoned at eighty-five stadia.[t]†

The sea of Crissa and the Saronic Sea terminate at Corinth, as if recognising her power. On the former is the port of Lechæum, connected with the city by a double wall of about twelve stadia[u] in length.‡ On the second lies the port Cenchreæ, distant from Corinth seventy stadia.[x]§

This city is embellished by a great number of sacred and profane edifices, both ancient and modern. After visiting the forum, decorated as usual with temples and statues,[y] we went to see the theatre, where the assembly of the people deliberate on affairs of state, and where the musical contests and other entertainments are exhibited at the festivals.[z]

[o] Scyl. Peripl. ap. Geogr. Min. t. i. p. 15 et 21. [p] Strab. ibid. p. 382. [q] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 23. p. 30. [r] Strab. ibid. p. 379. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121. [s] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 215. * About a league and a half. [t] Strab. lib. 8. p. 379. † Three leagues and nearly a quarter. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 522 et 523. Id. in Agesil. p. 661. Strab. lib. 8. p. 380. ‡ Near half a league. [x] Strab. ibid. § Near three leagues. [y] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 521. Pausan. p. lib. 2. c. 2 115. [z] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1084. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 4. c. 6.

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We were shown the tomb of the two sons of Medea. The Corinthians tore them from the altar on which they were deposited by this unhappy mother, and stoned them to death. As a punishment for their crime, an epidemical disease carried off all their children in the cradle, until, listening to the voice of the oracle, they engaged to pay annual honours to the memory of the victims of their fury.[a] I had believed, said I, on the authority of Euripides, that this princess was herself their murderer.[b] I have heard it said, answered one of the company, that the poet suffered himself to be gained by the magistrates for a sum of five talents;[c] but, however this may be, an ancient custom clearly proves,—and why should we dissemble it? that our ancestors were guilty; for, to record the memory of this fact, and expiate their crime, our children go with their heads shaven, and wear a black robe to a certain age.[d]

The road to the citadel has so many windings, that the traveller journeys thirty stadia before he reaches the summit.[e] We arrived near a spring called Pirene, where Bellerophon is said to have found the horse Pegasus. Its waters are remarkably cold and limpid:[f] as they have no visible issue, it is imagined that they descend by natural cavities in the

[a] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 118. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 5. c. 21. Parmenid. et Didym. ap. Schol. Euripid. in Med. v. 273. [b] Euripid. ibid. v. 1271, et alibi. [c] Parmen. ap. Schol. Euripid. in Med. [d] Pausan. ibid. [e] Strab. lib. 8. p. 397. Spon. Voyag. t. ii. p. 75. Whel. book 6. p. 440. [f] Strab. ibid. Athen. lib. 2. c. 6. p. 43.

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rock into the city, where they form a fountain, the water of which is remarkable for its lightness,[g] and would supply a sufficient quantity for the use of the inhabitants, even though they had not that great number of wells which they have every where sunk.[h]

The situation of the citadel and its ramparts render it so strong, that it can only be taken by treachery[i] or famine. At the entrance we saw the temple of Venus, with the statue of that goddess clad in brilliant armour, and accompanied by another of the God of Love, and a third of the Sun, who was adored here before the worship of Venus was introduced.[k]

From this lofty region the goddess seems to reign over the earth and seas. Such at least was the idea suggested by the magnificent scene that opened to our view. Towards the north, the prospect extends as far as Parnassus and Helicon; to the eastward, to the isle of Ægina, the citadel of Athens, and the promontory of Sunium; and to the west, the eye surveys the rich plains of Sicyon.[l] We viewed with pleasure the two gulfs, the waves of which break against this isthmus, which Pindar has justly compared to a bridge constructed by nature in the midst of the seas, to connect together the two principal parts of Greece.[m]

At the first view of this situation, it should seem that no communication could take place between one

[g] Athen. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 43. [h] Strab. lib. 8. p. 379. [i] Plut. in Arat. t. i. page 1034, 1035. [k] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 4. p. 121. [l] Strab. lib. 8. p. 379. Spon. t. ii. p. 175. Whel. book 6, p. 442. [m] Pind. Isthm. od. 4. v. 34. Schol. ibid.

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part of this continent and the other without the consent of Corinth;[n] and this city is justly considered one as the bulwark of Peloponnesus, and of the keys of Greece:[o] but the jealousy of the other states not having permitted the Corinthians to interdict to them the passage of the isthmus, the latter are content with profiting by their local advantages to amass considerable riches.

No sooner did navigators venture on the ocean than pirates made their appearance, as vultures existed as soon as pigeons. At first the commerce of the Greeks was carried on by land, and entered or left the Peloponnesus by the road of the isthmus. The Corinthians imposed a duty on the transit of all commodities, and derived from thence a certain degree of opulence.[p] When the pirates were destroyed, the vessels of those days, worked by inexperienced mariners, ventured not to brave the stormy sea between the isle of Crete and Cape Malea in Laconia.[q] It was then a kind of proverbial expression: Before the mariner doubles Cape Malea, he should forget all he holds dearest in the world.[r] Merchants, therefore, chose rather to transport their goods to the seas terminating at the isthmus.

The merchandise of Italy, Sicily, and the western nations, was landed at the harbour of Lachæum; and that from the islands of the Ægean sea, the coasts of

[n] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1044. [o] Plut. in Amat. Narrat. t. ii. p. 772. Polyb. lib. 17. p. 751. [p] Homer Iliad. lib. 2. v. 570. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 13. [q] Homer. Odyss. lib. 9. v. 80. Sophocl. in Trachin. v. 120. [r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378.

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Asia Minor, and of the Phœnicians, at the port of Cenchreæ.[s] In process of time commodities were conveyed by land from one harbour to the other, and means contrived for transporting even the vessels.[t]

Corinth, become the mart of Asia and Europe,[u] continued to collect duties on foreign merchandise,[x] covered the sea with ships, and formed a navy to protect her commerce. Her industry was excited by success; she built ships of a new form, and first produced galleys with three benches of oars.[y] Her naval force procuring her respect, all nations poured their productions into her emporium. We saw the shore covered with reams of paper,[z] and sail-cloth brought from Egypt, ivory from Libya, the leather of Cyrene, incense from Syria, Phœnician dates, Carthaginian carpets, corn and cheese from Syracuse,[a] pears and apples from Eubœa, Phrygian and Thessalian slaves, not to mention a multitude of other articles which daily arrive in the ports of Greece,[b] and particularly in those of Corinth. Foreign merchants of all countries, but more especially from Phœnicia,[c] are attracted hither by the hope of gain; and the games of the isthmus draw together a prodigious number of spectators.[d]

These resources increasing the wealth of the state,

[s] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 69. [t] Id. lib. 3. c. 15; lib. 8. cap. 8. Strab. lib. 8. p. 335. Polyb. ap. Suid. in Διϋσϑμ. [u] Aristid. Isthm. in Nept. t. i. p. 41. Oros. lib. 5. c. 3. [x] Strab. ibid. p. 378. [y] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 13. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 269. [z] Antiph. et Hermip. Athen. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 27. [a] Aristoph. in Vesp. v. 834. [b] Athen. p. 27. [c] Pind. Pyth. od. 2. v. 125. [d] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378.

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workmen of every kind were protected,[e] and exerted themselves with new emulation.[f] These were already distinguished, at least so it is asserted, by several useful inventions,[g] which I shall not specify, as I am unable to ascertain their precise object. The arts originate in obscure attempts, and are essayed in different places; when brought to perfection, the title of inventor is bestowed on him who by some successful process has facilitated their application. I shall give an instance of this. Ephorus the historian, extremely well versed in the knowledge of ancient usages, told me one day that the wheel with which a potter turns his vessels was introduced among the Greeks by the sage Anacharsis.[h] During my stay at Corinth, I ventured to boast of that circumstance, but was answered that the glory of the invention was due to one of their fellow-citizens, named Hyperbius:[i] a commentator on Homer proved to us, by a passage from that poet, that this machine was known before the time of Hyperbius:[k] and Philotas on the other side maintained, that the honour of the invention belonged to Thalos, who was prior to Homer, and nephew to Dædalus of Athens.[l] The same observations may be made with respect to most of the dis-

[e] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 167. [f] Oros. lib. 5. c. 3. [g] Schol. Pind. Olym. od. 13. v. 17. Plin. lib. 35. c. 3. t. ii. p. 682; c. 12. p. 710. [h] Ephor. ap. Strab. lib. 7. p. 303. Posidon. ap. Senec. epist. 90. t. ii. p. 412. Diogen. Laërt. &c. [i] Theophr. ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. od. 13. v. 25. Plin. lib. 7. c. 56. t. i. p. 414. [k] Homer. Iliad. lib. 18. v. 600. [l] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 277.

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coveries which the nations of Greece vie with each other in claiming as their own. The only conclusion we are authorized to draw from their pretensions seems to be, that they early cultivated those arts of which they imagine themselves the inventors.

Corinth abounds in warehouses and manufactures;[m] among other articles the inhabitants make coverlets for beds, which are in great request in foreign countries.[n] She collects at a vast expense pictures and statues of the best masters,[o] but has hitherto produced none of those artists who do so much honour to Greece, whether it be that her taste for the masterpieces of Art is but the result of luxury, or that Nature, reserving to herself the privilege of determining what places shall produce men of genius, leaves to sovereigns only the care of discovering and rendering them illustrious. Certain manufactures of brass and earthenware, fabricated in this city, are held nevertheless in great estimation. Corinth possesses no copper mines:[p] but her workmen, by mixing what they procure from foreign countries with a small quantity of gold and silver,[q] compose a metal extremely brilliant, and almost proof against rust.[r] Of it they make cuirasses, helmets, little figures, cups, and vessels, still less esteemed for the material than the workmanship,

[m] Strab. lib. 8. p. 382. Oros. lib. 5. c. 3. [n] Hermip. ap. Athen. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 27. [o] Polyb. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 381. Flor. lib. 2. c. 16. [p] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 3. [q] Plin. lib. 34. c. 2. p. 640. Id. lib. 37. c. 3. p. 772. Flor. ibid. Oros. lib. 5. c. 3. [r] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 4. c. 14. t. ii. p. 340.

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most of them enriched with foliage and other ornaments in chased work.[s] The ornaments on their pottery-ware are executed with the same skill, and are equally beautiful.[t] The most ordinary materials, from the elegance of the form they give them, and the embellishments by which they are adorned, acquire so great a value as to be preferred to marble and the most precious metals. The women of Corinth are distinguished by their beauty,[u] the men by their love of gain and pleasure. They ruin their health by convivial debauches,[x] and love with them is only licentious passion.[y] Far from blushing at their sensuality, they attempt to justify it by an institution which seems to prescribe it as a duty. Venus is their principal deity; to her they have consecrated a number of courtesans for the purpose of interceding in their behalf; and in time of public calamities and imminent danger these women attend at the sacrifices, and walk in procession with the other citizens, singing sacred hymns. When Xerxes invaded Greece, recourse was had to their intercession: and I have seen the picture in which they are represented addressing their prayers to the goddess, and some verses of Simonides at the bottom of the painting, which ascribe to them the glory of having preserved the Greeks.[z]

[s] Cicer. in Verr. de Sign. c. 44. t. iv. p. 391. [t] Strab. lib. 8. p. 381. Salmas in Exercit. Plin. p. 1048. [u] Anacr. od. 32. [x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 404. [y] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 655. Schol. ibid. Steph. in Κόρινθ. [z] Chamel. Theopomp. Tim. ap. Athen. lib. 13. c. 4. p. 73. Pindar. ap. eund. p. 574.

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A triumph so illustrious multiplied the number of these priestesses. Even at present, individuals, to ensure the success of their undertakings, vow to present to Venus a certain number of courtesans, whom they procure from different countries.[a] Upwards of one thousand are reckoned in this city. They attract hither the foreign merchants, and in a few days will ruin them and their whole retinue; hence the proverb: "It is not for every one to go to Corinth."[b]

I must here observe, that the women who carry on this corrupt commerce throughout Greece never possessed the least title to public esteem; that even at Corinth, where the tomb of the ancient Laïs[c] was pointed out to me with so much distinction, the modest women celebrate a particular festival in honour of Venus, to which the courtesans are refused admittance;[d] and that the Corinthians, who performed such illustrious acts of valour in the Persian war,[e] becoming enervated by pleasure, sunk under the yoke of the Argives, were obliged alternately to solicit the protection of the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and Thebans,[f] and are at length reduced to be only the wealthiest, the most effeminate, and weakest state in Greece.

It now remains for me to give a slight idea of the changes this city has experienced in its government.

[a] Athen. lib. 13. cap. 4. p. 573. [b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 378. [c] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 115. [d] Alex. ap. Athen. lib. 13. p. 574. [e] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 104. Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 870 et 872. [f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 521. 523; lib. 6. p. 610: lib. 7. p. 634.

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I must recur to distant ages, but on these I shall not dwell long.

About one hundred and ten years after the Trojan war, and thirty years subsequent to the return of the Heraclidæ, Alethes, who was descended from Hercules, obtained the kingdom of Corinth, which remained in his family for the space of four hundred and seventeen years, the eldest child always succeeding to his father.[g] Royalty was at last abolished, and the sovereign power entrusted to two hundred citizens, who constantly intermarried among themselves,[h] and must all be of the blood of the Heraclidæ.[i] One of these was annually chosen for the administration of the government, under the name of Prytanis.[k] They laid a duty on all merchandize passing the isthmus, which while it enriched them, accelerated their downfall by excessive luxury.[l] Ninety years after the institution of this form of government,[m] Cypselus having gained the people, transferred the sovereign authority to himself,* and restored royalty, which subsisted in his family for seventy-three years and six months.[n]

The commencement of his reign was marked by acts of cruelty and proscriptions. He persecuted the citizens whose influence he feared, banishing some, despoiling others of their possessions, and putting

[g] Diod. Sic. ap. Syncell. p. 179. [h] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 92. [i] Diod. Sic. ibid. [k] Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 2. cap. 4. p. 120. Strab. lib. 3. p. 378. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 1. c. 19. [m] Diod. Sic. ibid. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 10. t. ii. p. 408. * The year 658 before Christ. [n] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 12. page 411.

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several to death.[o] To weaken still more the party of the rich, he extorted for ten years the tenth of all their property, under pretext of a vow he had made before he ascended the throne,[p] and of which he acquitted himself by erecting a golden statue of enormous size near the temple of Olympia.[q] When he had calmed his apprehensions, he wished to gain the affections of his subjects, and appeared in public without guards, or any of the customary pomp of royalty.[r] The people, charmed with this mark of confidence, readily pardoned him acts of injustice which had not fallen on them, and suffered him to die in peace, after a reign of thirty years.[s]

His son Periander began as his father had concluded, and from the first moment of his reign promised happy days and lasting tranquillity. His subjects admired his mildness,[t] his knowledge, his prudence, and the ordinances he issued against those who possessed too many slaves, or whose expenditure exceeded their revenue; and against offenders guilty of atrocious crimes, or remarkable for depravity of manners. He instituted a senate, levied no new taxes, was satisfied with the duties collected on merchandize,[u] built a number of ships:[x] and, to give more activity to commerce, determined to cut through

[o] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92. Polyæn. Strab. lib. 5. cap. 31. [p] Aristot. de Cur. Rei Famil. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 501. Suid. in Κυψελ. [q] Plat. in Phædr. t. iii. p. 236. Strab. lib. 5. p. 378. Suid. ibid. [r] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411. [s] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 92. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411. [t] Herodot. lib 5. cap. 92. [u] Heraclid. Pontic. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2825. [x] Nicol. Damasc. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 450.

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the isthmus, and open a communication between the two seas.[y] He was engaged in different wars, and his victories gave the world a high opinion of his valour.[z] And indeed what was not to be expected from a prince who seemed to be the oracle of wisdom;[a] who would sometimes say: "The inordinate love of riches is a calumny against nature.—Pleasures are but transitory, virtues eternal.[b]—True liberty consists only in a clear conscience."[c]

On a certain critical occasion he sent to consult Thrasybulus, king of Miletus, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship.[d] Thrasybulus led the messenger into a field, and, walking with him amidst the corn, enquired of him concerning the subject of his mission, and by way of answer struck off the spikes which stood higher than the rest. The messenger did not comprehend that Thrasybulus by this action only meant to inculcate a principle adopted in many governments, nay even in republics, where individuals are not allowed to possess too much merit or influence.[e] Periander understood this language, yet continued to use moderation.[f]

The splendid successes which he had obtained, and the commendations of his flatterers, unfolded at length his real character, the violence of which he

[y] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 99. [z] Aristot. lib. 5. cap. 12. p. 411. Nicol. Damasc. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 450. [a] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 91. [b] Stob. Serm. 3. p. 46. [c] Id. Serm. 25. p. 192. [d] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 20; et lib. 5. c. 92. [e] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 355; lib. 5. cap. 10. p. 403. [f] Plut. in Conviv. t. ii. p. 147

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had hitherto repressed. In a fit of passion, excited perhaps by jealousy, he slew his wife Melissa, of whom he was passionately fond.[g] This was the end of his happiness and virtues. Soured by long affliction, this disposition was not mitigated on hearing that, far from sympathising with his sorrows, the public voice accused him of having formerly sullied the paternal bed.[h] Conceiving that the esteem of his people was cooled towards him, he dared openly to brave it; and without reflecting that there are injuries which a sovereign should avenge only by clemency, he governed his subjects with a rod of iron, surrounded his person with guards,[i] prosecuted with rigour all those whom his father had spared, stripped, under a frivolous pretext, the Corinthian women of their jewels and most valuable effects,[k] and oppressed the people with labour, that he might hold them the more easily in bondage. Perpetually a prey to terror and suspicion, he punished the citizen who was seated peaceably in the forum,[l] and condemned every man as criminal who might become culpable.

Domestic griefs increased the horror of his situation. The youngest of his sons named Lycophron, informed by his maternal grandfather of the unhappy fate of his mother, conceived so violent a hatred

[g] Herodot. lib. 3. cap. 50. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 94. [h] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 96. Parthen. Erot. c. 17. [i] Heracl. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2835. Diogen. Laërt. in Per. lib. 1. § 98. [k] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 92. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. § 97. Plut. t. ii. p. 1104. [l] Nicol. Damas. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 450.

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against the murderer, that he could no longer bear to see him, nor would even deign to answer his questions. Caresses and entreaties were lavished in vain. Periander was obliged to drive him from his house, and forbid the citizens to receive or speak to him, under penalty of a fine, to be applied to the temple of Apollo. The young man took refuge under one of the public porticos, at once without resource and without a murmur, and resolved to suffer every thing rather than expose his friends to the fury of the tyrant. Some days after, his father, accidentally perceiving him, felt all his tenderness awakened; he ran to him, and omitted nothing that might excite in him filial affection, but obtained only these words: You have transgressed your own law, and incurred the penalty. He determined therefore to banish him to the island of Corcyra, which he had added to his dominions.[m]

The offended gods granted a long life to this monarch, which was slowly wasted in sorrow and remorse. He could no longer say, as formerly, that it is better to be envied than pitied.[n] The experience of his sufferings extorted from him a confession that democracy is preferable to tyranny.[o] Some one venturing to represent to him, that he might quit the throne: Alas! answered he, it is as dangerous for a tyrant to leave as to ascend the throne.[p]

The weight of public affairs growing more and

[m] Herod. lib. 3. cap. 52. [n] Id. ibid. [o] Stob. Serm. 3. p. 46. [p] Id. Serm. 41. p. 247.

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more insupportable to him, as he was unable to have recourse to the eldest of his sons, who was an idiot,[q] he resolved to recall Lycophron, and made various offers to induce him to return, which were all received with indignation. He finally proposed to abdicate the crown, and confine himself to Corcyra, whilst his son, quitting that island, should take the reins of government at Corinth. This project was on the point of being carried into execution, when the Corcyreans, dreading the arrival of Periander, put Lycophron to death.[r] Nor had his father even the consolation to complete the vengeance merited by so base an act of cruelty. He had put on board one of his ships three hundred children, which he had caused to be seized and carried off from the first families of Corcyra, to convey them as a present to the king of Lydia; but the vessel touching at Samos, the inhabitants, commiserating these unfortunate victims, found means to save and restore them to their parents.[s] Tormented by impotent rage, Periander died at eighty years of age,[t] after a reign of forty-four.[u*]

No sooner had he closed his eyes than the Corinthians destroyed every monument, and even the slightest traces of tyranny.[x] His successor was a prince little known, who reigned only three years.[y] After this short interval, the Corinthians joined their

[q] Herodot. ibid. c. 53. [r] Id. lib. 3. c. 53. [s] Id. ibid. [t] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. c. 48. § 95. [u] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 42. p. 411. * The year 585 before Christ. [x] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 860. [y] Aristot. ibid.

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troops to those of Sparta,[z] established a government which has ever since subsisted, because it approaches nearer to an oligarchy than a democracy, and affairs of importance are not submitted to the arbitrary decision of the multitude.[a] Corinth has produced more citizens skilled in the arts of government than any other Grecian city:[b] their wisdom and real knowledge have so happily maintained the constitution, that the jealousy which the poor constantly entertain of the rich has never been able to endanger it.[c]

Lycurgus destroyed the distinction between these two classes of citizens at Lacedæmon: Phidon, who appears to have been his contemporary, thought proper to preserve it at Corinth, where he was one of the legislators. A town situate on the high road of commerce, and obliged continually to admit strangers within its walls, could not be subjected to the same regulations as a city in a corner of Peloponnesus; but Phidon, whilst he suffered the inequality of possessions to remain, was yet not the less attentive to limit the number of families and citizens.[d] This law was conformable to the spirit of those remote ages, when men, dispersed in considerable tribes, knew no other want than that of subsistence, and no ambition but that of self-defence: each nation was contented with possessing inhabitants enough to cultivate the earth, and sufficient strength to repel a

[z] Plut. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 859. [a] Id. in Dion. t. i. p. 981. [b] Strab. lib. 8. p. 382. Plut. in Dion. ibid. et in Timol. t. i. p. 248. [c] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 1. c. 41. § 2. [d] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 6. p. 321.

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sudden invasion. These ideas have never varied among the Greeks. Their philosophers and legislators, persuaded that great population is only a means of increasing riches, and perpetuating wars, far from favouring it, have bestowed their whole attention on preventing its excess:[e] the former annex too little value to life to be anxious to multiply the human species; the latter, fixing their attention only on a small state, have perpetually been in fear of overburthening it with inhabitants.

Such was the principal cause which formerly sent out from the ports of Greece those numerous swarms of colonists who went in search of settlements to distant and desert coasts.[f] Syracuse, the ornament of Sicily, Corcyra, some time sovereign of the seas,[g] Ambracia in Epirus, of which I have already spoken,* and several other cities more or less flourishing, owe their origin to Corinth.

Sicyon is but a small distance from Corinth. To arrive at it we crossed several rivers. The district appertaining to it produces corn, wine, and oil in abundance,[h] and is one of the most beautiful and richest countries in Greece.[i]

The laws of Sicyon rigorously prohibit the interment of persons of any rank whatever within the city.[k] We saw to the right and left of the road, tombs, the

[e] Plat. de Leg. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 470. [f] Id. ibid. [g] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 25; lib. 6. c. 3. * See Chap. XXXVI. [h] Wheler's Journey, book 6. p. 443. [i] Athen. lib. 5. c. 19. p. 219. Liv. lib. 27. c. 31. Schol. Aristoph. in Av. v. 969. [k] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1051.

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form of which by no means detracts from the beauty of the country. A little wall, on which are columns that sustain a roof, encloses the ground containing the grave. In this the body is deposited and covered with earth; and after the customary ceremonies, the persons who attend at the funeral call on the deceased by name, and take their last farewell.[l]

We found the inhabitants busied in preparing for an annual festival, which they celebrated the ensuing night. They brought out of a kind of cell appropriated to the purpose several ancient statues, which they carried about the streets, and placed in the temple of Bacchus. The procession opened with a statue of that god, which was closely followed by the others. A great number of torches were carried to give light, and hymns were sung to airs unknown in other countries.[m]

The Sicyonians place the foundation of their city at a period scarcely reconcileable with the traditions of other nations. Aristratus, at whose house we resided, showed us a long list of princes who had possessed the throne during a thousand years, and the last of whom lived about the time of the Trojan war.[n] We requested him not to carry us back to such remote ages, but to keep within the distance of three or four centuries. About that time, then, said he, began a succession of sovereigns known by the name

[l] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 126. [m] Id. ibid. p. 127. [n] Castor. ap. Euseb. Chronic. lib. 1. p. 11; ap Syncell. p. 97. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 123. Petav. de Doctr. Temp. lib. 9. c. 16. Marsh. Chron. Can. p. 16 et 336.

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of tyrants, from their possessing absolute power; but the only secret by which they retained this power for a whole century, was to restrain it within just bounds by respecting the laws.[o] Orthagoras was the first, and Clisthenes the last, of these princes. The gods, who sometimes apply violent remedies to inveterate evils, sent them into the world to deprive us of a liberty more fatal than slavery itself. Orthagoras, by his prudence and moderation repressed the fury of contending factions;[p] and Clisthenes rendered himself adored for his virtues, and formidable by his courage.[q]

When the council of the Amphictyons had resolved to arm the nations of Greece against the inhabitants of Cirrha,* who had been guilty of impiety against the temple of Delphi, they chose for one of the chiefs of the army Clisthenes, who possessed sufficient greatness of mind frequently to submit to the advice of Solon, who also was in that expedition.[r] The war was speedily terminated, and Clisthenes set apart his share of the plunder to build a magnificent portico in the capital of his states.[s]

A particular circumstance greatly increased his reputation for wisdom. He had just obtained the prize of the chariots with four horses at Olympia. No sooner was he declared victor, than a herald, advancing towards the innumerable multitude of spec-

[o] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 12. p. 411. [p] Plut de Serâ. Num. t. ii. p. 553. [q] Aristot. ibid. * Towards the year 596 before Christ. [r] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 37. p. 894. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 3. c. 5. [s] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 133.

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tators, proclaimed that all those who aspired to the hand of Agarista, daughter of Clisthenes, might repair, within the space of sixty days, to Sicyon, and that, at the expiration of a year from that time, the husband of the princess should be declared.[t]

Numerous suitors soon hastened from different parts of Greece and Italy, who all thought themselves possessed of ample titles to be admitted to this illustrious alliance. Among the number was Smindyrides, the richest and most voluptuous of the Sybarites. He arrived in a galley of his own, having a thousand slaves, fishermen, fowlers, and cooks, in his retinue.[u] He it was who, at the sight of a peasant lifting his spade with difficulty, felt his entrails rent within him; and who could not sleep, if, among the rose-leaves with which his bed was strewed, a single one was accidentally folded.[x] His effeminacy could be equalled only by his ostentation, and his ostentation by his insolence. When he took his seat at table, on the evening of his arrival, he pretended that no person had a right to sit near him, except the princess, when he should have made her his bride.[y]

Among his rivals were Leocides, of the ancient house of Argos; Laphanes of Arcadia, a descendant of Euphorion, who is said to have shown hospitality to the twin deities Castor and Pollux; Megacles of the house of the Alcmæonidæ, the most powerful fami-

[t] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 126. p. 496. [u] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 230. Athen. lib. 6. c. 21. p. 273; lib. 12. c. 11. p. 541.
[x] Senec. de Irâ. lib. 2. c. 25. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 9. c. 24.
[y] Diod. ibid.

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ly of Athens; and Hippoclides, a native of the same city, distinguished for his wit, wealth, and beauty.[z] The other eight merited, by various illustrious qualities, the honour of contending with such rivals.

The court of Sicyon was wholly taken up with festivals and entertainments; the lists were open to competitors for the prize of speed and other exercises. Clisthenes, who had already informed himself respecting their families, was present at these contests, and attentively studied their respective characters, sometimes in general conversations, and sometimes in private interviews. A secret predilection had from the first inclined him to favour one or other of the two Athenians, but the accomplishments of Hippoclides at length turned the balance in his favour.[a]

The day on which he was to make known his choice opened by a sacrifice of one hundred oxen, followed by a banquet, to which all the Sicyonians, as well as the competitors were invited. The company quitted the table, and continued to drink, conversing on music and other topics: Hippoclides, who displayed his superiority on every subject, lengthened out the conversation. On a sudden he ordered a flute-player to play a certain air, and began dancing a lascivious dance in a manner that offended Clisthenes: a moment after he sent for a table, leaped upon it, and first executed the dances of Lacedæmon, then those of Athens. Clisthenes, shocked at such indecent and frivolous behaviour, endeavoured to disguise

[z] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 127. [a] Id. ibid. c. 128.

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his feelings: but when he saw him stand on his hands, and make various gestures in the air with his feet: "Son of Tisander," cried he, "you have danced the rupture of your marriage." "In good truth, my lord," replied the Athenian, "Hippoclides cares very little about it." At these words, which have since become proverbial,[b] Clisthenes, commanding silence, thanked all the competitors, requested each of them to accept a talent of silver, and declared that he bestowed his daughter on Megacles, son of Alcmæon. From this marriage the celebrated Pericles was descended, by the side of his mother.[c]

Aristratus added, that since the time of Clisthenes, the reciprocal hatred of the rich and poor, that rooted malady of the Grecian republics, had never ceased to distract their country; and that, but recently, a citizen, named Euphron, having had the address to unite the whole authority in his hands,[d] retained it for some time; but was afterwards deprived of it, and assassinated in presence of the magistrates of Thebes, to which city he had gone to solicit their protection. The Thebans did not venture to punish the murderers of a man accused of tyranny; but the people of Sicyon, whom he had always favoured, erected a monument to his memory in the middle of the forum, and still honour him as an excellent citizen, and one of their protectors.[e] I condemn him, said Aristratus,

[b] Plut. de Malig. Herodot. t. ii. p. 867. Lucan. Apol. pro Merced. Cond. t. i. p. 724. Id. in Herc. t. iii. p. 86. [c] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 131. [d] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 623. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 582. [e] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 632.

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because he frequently had recourse to perfidy, and did not sufficiently respect the party of the rich; but it must be confessed the republic stands in need of a head. These last words revealed to us his intentions, and we learnt, a few years after, that he had obtained possession of the supreme power.[f]

We visited the city, the harbour, and citadel.[g] Sicyon will be conspicuous in the history of nations, from the attention with which she has cultivated the arts. I could wish I were able to ascertain with precision how far she has contributed to the origin of painting and the improvement of sculpture; but, as I have already hinted, the progress of the arts for whole ages is obscure; a great discovery is but the combination of a multitude of preceding ones of less importance; and as it is impossible to follow their respective tracks, we must content ourselves with observing those which are the most evident, and limit ourselves to a few conclusions.

Drawing owed its origin to chance, sculpture to religion, and painting to the improvement of the other arts.

In the earliest times some person amused himself with following and tracing out on the ground, or on a wall, the outlines of the projecting shadow of a body illuminated by the sun, or some other light; hence men learned the mode of expressing the form of objects by simple lines. In these ancient times, likewise it was thought necessary to encourage the reli-

[f] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1032. Plin. lib. 35. c. 10. t. ii. p. 700.
[g] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 629.

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gious fervour of the people, by placing before their eyes the symbol or image of their worship. At first a stone,[h] or the trunk of a tree, was presented to them as objects of veneration; soon after the upper extremity was rounded into the shape of a head, then lines were excavated in it to form feet and hands. Such was the state of sculpture among the Egyptians, when that art was transmitted by them to the Greeks, who long contented themselves with a bare imitation of their models. Hence those shapeless statues so frequently met with in the Peloponnesus, and which exhibit only a sheath, a column, or a pyramid,[k] with a head on the top, and sometimes a rude representation of hands and feet which are not disjoined from the trunk. The statues of Mercury, called Hermæ, are remains of this ancient practice.

The Egyptians boast that they discovered sculpture more than ten thousand years ago,[l] and painting at the same time, or at least six thousand years before it was known to the Greeks.[m] The latter are far from appropriating to themselves the invention of the first of these arts, but think they have a just claim to the discovery of the second.[n] To reconcile these different pretensions, we must distinguish two kinds of paintings: that which merely sets off the drawing by colours laid on whole and unbroken; and that which,

[h] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 22. p. 579. Id. lib. 9. c. 27. p. 761. [i] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 4. [k] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 132; lib. 3. c. 19. p. 257; lib. 7. c. 22. p. 569. [l] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 656. [m] Plin. lib. 35. c. 3. t. ii. p. 681. [n] Id. ibid. Strab lib. 8. p. 332.

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after long efforts, has become the faithful copyist of nature.

The former was discovered by the Egyptians. In the Thebais we see, in the porches of the grottos, which served perhaps as tombs, on the ceilings of the temples, on the hieroglyphics and figures of men and animals, very lively and brilliant colours, and which certainly are of an extremely ancient date.[o] These colours, sometimes enriched by gold leaf attached to them by means of size, clearly prove that painting, if I may so speak, was in Egypt only the art of colouring.

It should seem that the Greeks were very little farther advanced at the time of the Trojan war;[p] but towards the first Olympiad[q] * the artists of Sicyon and Corinth, who had already exhibited more intelligence in their design,[r] signalized themselves by essays still held in remembrance, and which astonished that age by their novelty. Whilst Dædalus of Sicyon† was detaching the feet and hands of statues,[s] Cleophantus of Corinth was colouring the features of the human countenance.

Cleophantus made use of pounded brickdust;[t] a

[o] Voyag. de Grand. p. 35, 47, 73. Sicard, Miss. du Lev. t. ii. p. 221; t. vii. p. 37 et 163. Lucas, Voyag. de la Haute Egypt. t. iii. p. 39 et 69. Norden, Voyag. d'Egypt. p. 137, 170, &c. Goguet, Orig. des Lois, t. ii. p. 164. Cayl. Rec. d'Antiq. t. v. p. 25. [p] Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 637. [q] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 267. * Towards the year 776 before Christ. [r] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 681. † See note XIX. at the end of the volume. [s] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 276. Themist. Orat. 26. p. 316. Suidas in Δαιδάλ. [t] Plin. lib. 35. cap. 3. t. ii. p. 682.

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proof that the Greeks then knew nothing of the colours now employed for carnation. About the time of the battle of Marathon, painting and sculpture emerged from their long infancy, and by a rapid progress have attained the degree of sublimity and beauty at which we this day behold them.

Sicyon, almost in our own time, produced Eupompus, the chief of a third school of painting; prior to him no other was known but those of Athens and Iönia. From his school have already proceeded several celebrated artists, and amongst others Pausias and Pamphilus, under whose direction it was during our residence in that city, and whose talents and reputation procured him many pupils, who each paid him a talent previous to receiving his instructions:* on his side he engaged to give them, for ten years, lessons founded on an excellent theory, and justified by the success of his labours. He exhorted them likewise to cultivate letters and the sciences, with which he was himself extremely well acquainted.[u]

By his advice it was that the magistrates of Sicyon ordained that the study of drawing should from that time constitute part of the education of the citizens; a law which rescued the fine arts from servile hands. The other cities of Greece are now beginning to follow this example.[x]

We were acquainted with two of his pupils, who have since acquired a splendid reputation, Melanthus

* 5400 livres (225l. sterling). [u] Plin. lib. 35. c. 18. t. ii. p. 694. [x] Id. ibid.

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and Apelles.[y] He formed high expectations of the former, and still higher of the latter, who congratulated himself on having such a master. Pamphilus soon had reason to be proud of having instructed such a scholar.

We made a few excursions in the neighbourhood of Sicyon. At the town of Titana, situated on a mountain, we saw in a cypress wood, a temple of Æsculapius, in whose statue a tunic of white woollen and a mantle only left visible the face and hands, and the extremities of the feet. Near it is the statue of Hygeia, the goddess of health, covered likewise with a robe, and locks of hair, which women have taken from their heads to consecrate them to this deity.[z] The custom of clothing the statues, sometimes in extremely rich dresses, is very common in Greece, and often affords cause for regret, when we perceive how many beautiful productions of art are almost entirely concealed by these ornaments.

We stopped at the town of Phlius,[a] the inhabitants of which have acquired in our days a celebrity not to be obtained by riches or by conquests. They entered into an alliance with Sparta, whilst at the zenith of her glory; and when, after the battle of Leuctra, her slaves and most of her allies revolted against her, the Phliuntians flew to her aid; and, on their return home, neither the power of the Thebans and the Argives, nor the horrors of war and famine, could ever compel them to relinquish their alliance.[b]

[y] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1032. [z] Pausan. lib. 2. c. 11. p. 136.
[a] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 138. [b] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 624.

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This example of fortitude has been exhibited in an age when oaths are sported with; and that too by one of the smallest and poorest of the Grecian cities.

After passing a few days at Sicyon, we entered Achaia, which extends as far as the promontory of Araxus, situate opposite to Cephallenia. It is a slip of land bounded on the south by Arcadia and Elis, and on the north by the sea of Crissa. Its shores are almost every where lined with rocks, which render them inaccessible. In the interior part of the country the soil is poor, and with difficulty rendered productive;[c] good vineyards, however, are to be found in many places.[d]

It was formerly inhabited by those Iönians who are now settled on the coast of Asia. They were expelled by the Achæans, when the latter were compelled to yield the kingdoms of Argos and Lacedæmon[e] to the descendants of Hercules.

When settled in their new abodes, the Achæans never interfered in the affairs of Greece, not even when Xerxes threatened it with universal slavery.[f] The Peloponnesian war forced them from that repose which constituted their happiness; they united their forces sometimes with the Lacedæmonians,[g] and sometimes with the Athenians, whom they were always most inclined to favour.[h] On this occasion it was that Alcibiades, endeavouring to persuade the

[c] Plut. in Arat, t. i. p. 1031. [d] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 26. p. 593. [e] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 145. Pausan. ibid. c. 1. p. 522. [f] Pausan. ibid. c. 6. p. 536. [g] Thucyd. lib. 2. c. 9. [h] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 111. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 6. p. 537.

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people of Patræ to extend the walls of their town to the harbour, that the fleets of Athens might be able to assist them, one of the assembly exclaimed: "If you follow this advice, the Athenians will at last swallow you up." "That may be," answered Alcibiades, "but with this difference, that the Athenians will begin with the feet, the Lacedæmonians with the head."[i] The Achæans have since contracted other alliances. Some years after our journey they sent two thousand men to the assistance of the Phocians,[k] and their troops distinguished themselves at the battle of Chæronea.[l]

Pellene, a small town, as are all the towns in Achaia,[m] is built on the side of a hill of so irregular a form, that the two quarters of the town situate on the opposite sides of it have scarcely any communication.[n] Its harbour is at the distance of sixty stadia.* The dread of pirates formerly obliged the inhabitants of a district to unite and form settlements on eminences more or less remote from the sea. All the ancient towns of Greece are so situate.

As we left Pellene, we saw a temple of Bacchus, in which the nocturnal festival of the lamps is annually celebrated; great numbers are lighted up, and wine is copiously distributed to the multitude.[o] Opposite to it is the sacred wood of Diana Conservatrix, into which none but the priests are allowed to enter.

[i] Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 198.
[k] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 436.
[l] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 6. p. 537.
[m] Plut. in Arat. t. i. p. 1031.
[n] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 26. p. 594.
* About two leagues and a quarter.
[o] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 595.

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We next saw, in a temple of Minerva, a statue of that goddess, of gold and ivory, of such beautiful workmanship that it is ascribed to Phidias.[p]

We proceeded to Ægira, about twelve stadia* distant from the sea. Whilst we were examining such objects as we esteemed deserving our curiosity, our conductors informed us, that on a certain occasion, the inhabitants, unable to oppose the Sicyonians who were come to attack them, collected a great number of goats, fastened lighted torches to their horns, and drove them forward during the night; when the enemy, imagining them to be the allied troops of Ægira, immediately retreated.[q]

Further on we entered a grotto, in which is an oracle that employs chance to manifest futurity. Near to a statue of Hercules is a number of dice, marked in a particular manner on each side: four of these are promiscuously taken and rolled on a table, on which corresponding marks are traced, with their interpretation.[r] This oracle is esteemed as infallible, and is as much frequented as the others.

At some distance we visited the ruins of Helice, formerly situate twelve stadia from the sea,[s]* and demolished in our time by an earthquake. These dreadful catastrophes happen most frequently in places adjoining to the sea,[t] and are generally preceded by terrifying symptoms. For several months

[p] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 594. * Almost half a league.
[q] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 26. p. 591. [r] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 25. p. 590.
[s] Heraclid. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384. * Almost half a league.
[t] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 567.

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the waters of heaven either deluge the earth, or withhold their beneficial effects; a dimness obscures the splendor of the sun, or his disk appears red, like a burning brasier; impetuous winds ravage the country; streams of fire are seen to shoot in the air; and other portentous phænomena too surely presage some tremendous disaster.[u]

After the calamity of Helice, various prodigies were recollected by which it had been portended. The isle of Delos had shook, and an immense column of fire had risen to the skies.[x] Be this as it may, a very short time before the battle of Leuctra,[y]* in winter, and during the night,[z] a north wind blowing from one quarter, and a southerly wind from the other,[a] the city, after violent and repeated shocks, which continued till day-break, was totally destroyed, and swallowed up by the sea, which had overflowed its boundaries.[b] The inundation was so great as to rise above the tops of the trees in a wood consecrated to Neptune. By degrees the waters partially subsided; but they still cover the ruins of Helice, leaving only a few trifling vestiges exposed to view.[c] All the inhabitants perished; and at-

[u] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 24. p. 585. [x] Calisth. ap. Senec. Quæst. Nat. lib. 6. c. 26. [y] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 128. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384. * Near the end of the year 373, or the beginning of the year 372 before Christ. [z] Heracl. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 363. [a] Aristot. Meteor. lib. 2. c. 8. t. i. p. 570. [b] De Mundo ap. Aristot. c. 4. t. i. p. 608. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 364. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 24. p. 587. [c] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 24. p. 532. Plin. lib. 2. c. 92. t. i. p. 115.

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tempts were made in vain to recover their bodies, and bestow on them the rites of sepulture.[d]

The shocks of this earthquake, it is said, were not felt in the city of Ægium[e], which is only at the distance of forty stadia from Helice;[f] † but their direction was toward the other side; and in the town of Bura, scarcely more distant from Helice than Ægium, walls, houses, temples, statues, men, and animals, were all destroyed or crushed. The citizens who were absent, built, on their return, the modern town[g]. To Helice has succeeded a small town, where we took a boat, more closely to inspect some ruins scattered on the shore. Our guides made a circuit, to avoid striking on a Neptune of brass, which is on a level with the water, and still standing on its base.[h]

After the destruction of Helice, Ægium took possession of its territory, and became the principal city of Achaia. Here the states of the province are convened,[i] and assemble in a wood consecrated to Jupiter, near the temple of that god, and on the sea shore.[k]

Achaia, from the earliest times, was divided into twelve cities, each comprising seven or eight towns, within its district.[l] All have the privilege of sending deputies to the ordinary assembly, which is held at the beginning of their year, or towards the middle

[d] Heracl. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 385. [e] Senect. Quæst. Nat. lib. 6. c. 25. [f] Pausan. ibid. p. 585. † One league and a half. [g] Pausan. lib 7. c. 25. p. 590. [h] Eratosth. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384. [i] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 350. Liv. lib. 28. c. 7. lib. 38. c. 30. Pausan. lib. 7. c. 24. p. 585. [k] Strab. ibid. p. 385 et 387. Pausan. ibid. page 584. [l] Herodot. lib. 1. cap. 145. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 128. Strab. ibid. p. 337 et 386.

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of the spring.[m] There such regulations are made as circumstances may require: magistrates are nominated to carry them into execution, and invested likewise with the power of convoking an extraordinary assembly, in case of war, or the necessity of deliberating on an alliance.[n]

The government goes forward, if I may use the expression, by its own motion. It is a democracy, which owes its origin and continuance to peculiar circumstances. The country being poor, without commerce, and almost without industry, its inhabitants peaceably enjoy the liberty and equality afforded them by a wise legislation. As no ambitious and turbulent spirits have arisen amongst them,[o] they are strangers to the desire of conquests; and as they have little connection with corrupt nations, they never employ fraud or falsehood, even against their enemies:[p] as all their cities, in fine, have the same laws and the same offices of magistracy, they form only one body and one state, and the harmony that reigns amongst them pervades every class of citizens.[q] The excellence of their constitution and the probity of their magistrates are so universally admitted, that the Greek cities of Italy, wearied with their dissensions, have been known to address themselves to this people to become their arbitrators, and some of them even formed a similar confederation. Nay, it is not long since the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, mu-

[m] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 305; lib. 5. p. 350. Strab. ibid. p. 385.
[n] Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. page 855. [o] Polyb. lib. 2. page 125.
[p] Id. lib. 13. p. 672. [q] Justin. lib. 34. c. 1.

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tually claiming the victory at Leuctra, referred this dispute, in which their honour was so materially interested,[r] and which demanded the most impartial decision, to the determination of the Achæans.

We frequently saw children on the shore throwing pebbles with their slings—a favourite exercise of this people, in which they are so skilful, that, by placing the lead in a particular manner in the strap, they can hit the object at which they aim with the most surprising exactness.[s]

In our way to Patræ we passed through several cities and towns, for Achaia is extremely populous.[t] At Pharæ we saw, in the forum, thirty square stones, which are worshipped as deities, but the names of which I have forgotten.[u] Near these stones is a Mercury, terminating in a sheath, and with a long beard, opposite to a statue of Vesta, surrounded by a range of bronze lamps. We were told that this Mercury delivered oracles, and that to obtain an answer it was only necessary to whisper a few words in the ear of the statue. At this moment a peasant came to consult it: he was first to offer incense to the goddess, then pour oil into the lamps and light them, deposit a small piece of money on the altar, approach the Mercury, interrogate it in a whisper, quit the place keeping his ears shut, and afterwards observe the first words he should hear, which were

[r] Polyb. lib. 2. p. 126. Strab. lib. 8. p. 384. [s] Liv. lib. 38. cap. 29. [t] Strab. ibid. page 386. [u] Pausan. lib. 7. cap. 22. p. 579.

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to be the solution of his doubts.[x] The people thronged after him, and we returned to our lodgings.

Before we arrived at Patræ, we turned into a delightful wood, where several young people were exercising themselves in running.[y] In one of the alleys we met a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, dressed in a handsome robe, and crowned with ears of corn. When we asked, he answered: This is the festival of Bacchus Æsymnetes, for by that name he is called; all the children of the town repair to the banks of the Milichus. Thence we shall go in procession to the temple of Diana, which you see before you; we shall lay this crown at the feet of the goddess; and, after washing in the stream, we shall take another crown of ivy, and go to the temple of Bacchus, which is beyond the former. I asked him what was the meaning of the crown of ears of corn.—In this manner we were dressed when we were sacrificed on the shrine of Diana.—What! was it the practice to sacrifice you?—You are then unacquainted with the history of the handsome Melanippus and the beautiful Cometho, the priestess of the goddess? I will tell it you.

They mutually loved so affectionately, that it seemed impossible for either to live without the other. At length they asked their parents' leave to marry, and they cruelly refused them. Some time after there happened a great famine and sickness in the country. The oracle was consulted, and an-

[x] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 22. p. 579. [y] Id. ibid. c. 21. p. 577.

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swered, that Diana was incensed that Menalippus and Cometho should have married in her very temple, on the night of the festival, and that, to appease her, a boy and a girl of the greatest beauty must be annually sacrificed. The oracle afterwards promised us that this barbarous custom should cease when a stranger should bring hither a certain statue of Bacchus. At length he came, the statue was placed in that temple, and the procession and ceremonies I have been telling you of were substituted for the sacrifice. Adieu, stranger.[z]

This narrative, which was confirmed to us by well-informed persons, astonished us the less, as for a long time men could imagine no better means of averting the divine vengeance than by shedding human blood, and especially that of a young virgin, on the sacred altars. The reasoning which induced them to this practice was the natural consequence of the abominable principle, that the gods are more attentive to the value of the offerings than the intentions of those who present them. This fatal error once admitted, men would first offer the most valuable productions of the earth, and the choicest victims: and as the blood of men is more precious than that of animals, they at length proceeded to shed that of a virgin, who united youth, beauty, birth, and all the advantages which they themselves held in the highest estimation.

After examining the monuments of Patræ, and of another town named Dyme, we crossed the Larissus, and entered into Elis.

[z] Pausan. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 571.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Tour of Elis.—The Olympic Games.*

ELIS is a small country, the coasts of which are washed by the Iönian sea, and which is divided into three valleys. In that to the north is the city of Elis, situate on the Peneus, a river of the same name, but less considerable than that of Thessaly: the middle valley is remarkable for the temple of Jupiter, near the river Alpheus; and the last of the three is named Triphylia.

The inhabitants of this country long enjoyed the most undisturbed tranquillity. All the states of Greece concurred to consider them as consecrated to Jupiter, and carried their respect so far that foreign troops laid down their arms on entering the country, nor took them up again but at their departure[a]. At present they rarely enjoy the benefits of this exemption; yet, notwithstanding the occasional wars to which they have been exposed in later times, and in despite of the dissensions which still ferment in certain cities, Elis is the most plentiful and best peopled district of Peloponnesus.[b] Its plains, which are generally fertile,[c] are covered with laborious slaves; and agriculture flourishes, because the government bestows on

* See the map of Elis. [a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 358. [b] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 336. [c] Strab. lib. 8. p. 344. Pausan. lib. 5. p. 381.

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the industrious rustics the attention merited by these useful citizens. Tribunals are established amongst them to judge their causes in the last instance; nor are they obliged to interrupt their labours, and repair to the cities to solicit an iniquitous or tardy sentence. Many rich families spend their lives peaceably in the country, and I myself saw some in the vicinity of Elis, not one of whom, for two or three generations, had once entered the capital.[d]

After the monarchical government was abolished, the cities associated in a federal league; but that of Elis, more powerful than the rest, has insensibly brought them under subjection,[e] leaving them only the shadow of liberty. Together they form eight tribes,[f] governed by a body of ninety senators, who hold their places for life, and by their influence fill up vacancies at their pleasure: hence it is that authority resides only in a very few persons, and that an oligarchy has been introduced within an oligarchy, which is one of the destructive vices of this government.[g] Attempts have, therefore, recently been made to establish a democracy.[h]

The city of Elis is but modern; it was formed, like many of the Grecian cities, and especially those of the Peloponnesus, by the union of several hamlets:[i] for in the ages of ignorance men dwelt in open

[d] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 336. [e] Herodot. lib. 4. c. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 31. [f] Pausan. lib. 5. p. 397. [g] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 5. c. 6. t. ii. p. 394. [h] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 635. [i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 336. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 40.

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and exposed villages; in more enlightened times they shut themselves up in fortified towns.

On our arrival we met a procession in its way to the temple of Minerva, and that made part of a ceremony in which the youth of Elis contended for the prize of beauty. The victors were led in triumph: the first, with his head bound with ribands, bore the weapons to be consecrated to the goddess; the second conducted the victim; and the third carried the other offerings.[k]

I have often seen similar contests in Greece, for the young men, as well as for the women and girls. Even among distant nations I have seen women admitted to public competitions, with this difference, however, that the Greeks decree the prize to the most beautiful, and the barbarians to the most virtuous.[l]

The city is ornamented with temples,[m] sumptuous edifices, and a number of statues, some of which are by the hand of Phidias. Among the latter we saw several which displayed the judgment no less than the skill of the artist; such is the group of the Graces in the temple dedicated to them. They are habited in a light and brilliant drapery; the first holds a myrtle branch in honour of Venus; the second a rose, to denote the spring; and the third a die, the symbol of infant sports: and that nothing may be wanting to complete the charms of this composition, the figure

[k] Athen. lib. 13. c. 2. p. 565. Theophr. ap. eund. p. 609.
[l] Theophr. ap. eund. p. 609 et 610. [m] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 23. p. 511.

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of Love is placed on the same pedestal with the Graces.[n]

Nothing contributes so much to the celebrity of this province as the Olympic games, celebrated every fourth year in honour of Jupiter. Each city in Greece has its festivals, which assemble all the inhabitants; for grand solemnities unite all the Grecian states; these are the Pythian or Delphic games, the Isthmian or Corinthian, the Nemean, and the Olympic. I have spoken of the first in my journey through Phocis; I shall now give some account of the latter: the others I shall pass over in silence, as they exhibit nearly the same spectacle.

The Olympic games, instituted by Hercules, were, after having been long discontinued, revived by the advice of the celebrated Lycurgus, and by the attention of Iphitus, sovereign of a district of Elis.[o] One hundred and eight years after, the name of the person who had gained the prize in the course of the stadium was inscribed, for the first time, in the public register of the Eleans;[p] he was called Choreebus. This practice was continued; and hence that series of victors, whose names, indicating the different Olympiads, form so many fixed periods in chronology. The games were about to be celebrated, for the one hundred and sixth time, when we arrived at Elis.*

[n] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 24. p. 514. [o] Aristot. ap. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 39. [p] Freret. Defens. de la Chronol. p. 162.

* In the summer of the year 356 before Christ.

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All the inhabitants of Elis were preparing for this august solemnity. The decree which prohibits all hostilities had already been proclaimed.[q] Troops who should enter at this time into this sacred territory[r] would be condemned to pay a penalty of two minæ* for each soldier.[s]

The direction of the Olympic games has been in the possession of the Eleans for four centuries, and they have brought them to the utmost degree of perfection, sometimes by introducing new species of contests, and sometimes by suppressing such as did not answer the expectations of the assembly.[t] It is their province to prevent clandestine practices and intrigues, to take care that the decisions be equitable, and that no natives of foreign nations,[u] nor even of the Greek cities which have[x] violated the laws established to maintain order during the festivals, be admitted to enter the lists as candidates. They have so high an idea of these ordinances, that they formerly sent deputies into Egypt, to enquire of the sages of that nation whether they could suggest any necessary regulation which they had omitted. You have forgotten one essential article, replied the latter: since the judges are Eleans, the Eleans should be excluded from the competition.[y] Notwithstanding this answer, they are admitted, and many of them have

[q] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 397. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 20. p. 427. [r] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 248. * 180 livres. (7*l.* 10*s.* sterling.) [s] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 49. [t] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 394. [u] Herodot. lib. 5. c. 22. [x] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 49. Pausan. ibid. c. 21. p. 431. [y] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 160. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 85.

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gained the prize, nor has the integrity of the judges been ever questioned :[z] it is true, indeed, that to prevent such a suspicion, the athletæ are permitted to appeal to the senate of Olympia from the decree which deprives them of the crown.[a]

At each Olympiad the judges or presidents of the games are drawn by lot,[b] and are eight in number, one being taken from each tribe.[c] They assemble at Elis, previous to the celebration of the games, and for the space of ten months carefully study all the particulars of the duties they have to discharge : in these they are instructed by the magistrates, whose office it is to declare and explain the ordinances I have mentioned.[d] That they may join experience to precepts, they exercise, during the same interval, the athletæ who come to have their names enrolled[e] as candidates for the prizes of the course, and most of the pedestrian combats.[f] Several of these athletæ were accompanied by their relations and friends, and especially by the masters by whom they had been taught; the desire of glory sparkled in their eyes, and the inhabitants of Elis seemed transported with the liveliest joy. I should have been surprised at the importance they annex to the celebration of their games, were I not acquainted with the ardour of the Greeks for public exhibitions, and the real utility which the Eleans derive from this solemnity.

[z] Dion. Chrysost. in Rhod. p. 344. [a] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 458. [b] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 3. c. 30. p. 121. [c] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 397. [d] Id. lib. 6. c. 24. p. 514. [e] Æschin. Epist. 11. p. 212. [f] Pausan. ibid. p. 513.

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After having viewed every thing interesting in the city of Elis, and in Cyllene, which serves it for a harbour, and is distant only one hundred and twenty stadia,[g] * we departed for Olympia, to which there are two roads; one by the plain, three hundred stadia in length;[h] † and the other by the mountains and the little town of Alesium, where a considerable fair is held every month.[i] We made choice of the former, which traverses a fertile and well cultivated country, watered by various rivers, and, after taking a view of Dyspontium and Letrines, as we passed,[k] we arrived at Olympia.

This city, known likewise by the name of Pisa,[l] is situate on the right bank of the Alpheus, at the foot of an eminence called the Mount of Saturn. The Alpheus has its source in Arcadia.[m] It alternately appears and disappears,[n] and after receiving the waters of several rivers,[o] falls into the adjoining sea.[p]

Within the Altis, which is a sacred wood[q] of great extent, surrounded with walls,[r] are the temple of Jupiter and that of Juno, the senate-house, the theatre,[s] and many other beautiful edifices, as also an innumerable multitude of statues.

[g] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 26. p. 518. * About four leagues and a half. [h] Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Pausan. lib. 6. c. 22. p. 510. † Eleven leagues and about one-third. [i] Strab. ibid. p. 341. [k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 491. Strab. ibid. p. 357. Pausan. ibid. p. 510. [l] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 7. Pind. Olymp. 2, 3, 8, &c. Steph. in Ολυμπ. Ptolem. p. 101. [m] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 390. [n] Id. lib. 8. c. 54. p. 709. [o] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 344. [p] Strab. ibid. p. 343. [q] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 12. Schol. ibid. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 397. [r] Pausan. ibid. p. 441. et 443. [s] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 639.

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The temple of Jupiter was built in the last century, with the spoils taken by the Eleans from certain states which had revolted from their obedience;[t] it is of the Doric order, surrounded with columns, and constructed with a stone brought from the adjoining quarries, which, though much lighter than Parian marble, is equally shining and hard.[u] It is sixty-eight feet high, two hundred and thirty long, and ninety-five broad.*

This edifice was built by an able architect, named Libon. Two sculptors, of equal skill, enriched the pediments of the principal front with learned and elegant ornaments. In one of these pediments, amidst a great number of figures, we see Œnomaus and Pelops ready to dispute, in presence of Jupiter, the prize of the race; in the other, the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ.[x] The gate by which it is entered is of brass, as is that on the opposite side. On both are sculptured a part of the labours of Hercules.[y] The roof is covered with pieces of marble cut in the shape of tiles. On the summit of each pediment is a statue of Victory of gilt brass, and at each angle a large vase of the same metal also gilt.

The temple is divided by columns into three aisles or porticos,[z] which, as well as the vestibule, contain a number of offerings consecrated by piety and gra-

[t] Pausan. lib. 5. p. 397. [u] Id. ibid. p. 398. Plin. lib. 36. c. 17. t. ii. p. 747. * The height about 64 French feet, the length 217, the width 90 (or 68,231,96 feet English.) [x] Id. ibid. c. 10. p. 399. [y] Id. ibid. p. 40. [z] Id. ibid.

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titude;[a] but the eye, overlooking these objects, is rapidly attracted to the statue and throne of Jupiter. This master-piece of Phidias, and of the art of sculpture, at the first glance fills the spectator with an admiration which can only be increased by a closer examination.

The figure of Jupiter is of gold and ivory, and, though seated, rises almost to the ceiling of the temple.[b] In his right hand he holds a Victory, likewise of gold and ivory; in his left, a sceptre of beautiful workmanship, enriched with various species of metals, with an eagle on the top of it.[c] The buskins are of gold, as is the mantle, on which are engraven figures of animals, and flowers, particularly the lily.[d]

The throne is supported by four feet, as well as by intermediate columns of the same height. The richest materials, the noblest arts, have all concurred in the embellishment of this throne. It is resplendent with gold, ivory, ebony, and precious stones, and is decorated in every part with paintings and basso-relievos.

Four of these basso-relievos adorn the front of each of the fore-feet. The highest represents four Victories in the attitude of women dancing; the second, Sphinxes, carrying away the children of the Thebans; the third, Apollo and Diana piercing with their darts the children of Niobe; and in the last are two other figures of Victory.

[a] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 405. Strab. lib. 8. p. 353. [b] Strab. ibid. [c] Pausan, lib. 5. c. 11. p. 400. Plin. lib. 34. c. 8. t. ii. p. 648. [d] Pausan. ibid. p. 401.

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Phidias has not left the smallest intervals without an ornament. On the four beams which bind the feet of the throne, I enumerated no less than thirty-seven figures, some representing wrestlers, others the combat of Hercules with the Amazons.* Over the head of Jupiter, on the upper part of the throne, we see on one side the three Graces, whom he had by Eurynome, and the three Seasons, whom he had by Themis.[c] On the footstool, as also on the base or estrade which sustains this enormous mass, are other basso-relievos; most of them executed in gold, and representing the deities of Olympus. At the feet of Jupiter is this inscription:[f] *I am the work of Phidias the Athenian, the son of Charmides.* Besides his own name, the artist, to perpetuate the memory and beauty of a young man named Pantarces,[g] has engraved his name on one of the figures of Jupiter.*

It is not possible to approach the throne so near as the curious observer might wish. He is stopped at a certain distance by a balustrade, which encompasses it on every side,[h] and is ornamented with excellent paintings by Pannænus, a pupil and relation of Phidias, who jointly with Colotes, another scholar of this great man, was employed to execute some of

* See note XX. at the end of the volume. [c] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 402. Hesiod. Deor. Gener. v. 900. [f] Pausan. ibid. c. 10. p. 397. [g] Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 47. * This inscription was: *Pantarces is beautiful.* Had this been imputed as a crime to Phidias, he might have justified himself by alleging, that it was meant to be applied to Jupiter; the word *Pantarces* really signifying *he who suffices for all.* [h] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 401.

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the principal parts of this stupendous work.[i] It is said that, after it was completed, Phidias took off the veil which covered it, consulted the public taste, and corrected his performance by the opinion of the multitude.[k]

The spectator can never sufficiently admire the grandeur of the design, the richness of the materials, the excellence of the workmanship, and happy consonance of all its parts; but he is still more astonished at the sublime expression which the genius of the artist has given to the head and countenance. In it the divine nature is imagined with all the majesty of power, all the profundity of wisdom, and all the mildness of clemency. Heretofore artists had represented the sovereign of the gods only with ordinary features, devoid of elevation, and marked by no distinctive character: Phidias was the first who, if I may use the expression, attended to the divine majesty, and added a new motive to the veneration of nations, by exhibiting to their senses what they had before adored.[l] From what source had he derived these exalted ideas? Poets would say that he had ascended into heaven, or that the god had come down upon earth,[m] but he himself gave a simpler and a nobler answer to those who put to him this question:[n] he quoted the verses

[i] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 402. Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plin. lib. 34. c. 8. t. ii. p. 657; lib. 35. c. 8. p. 689. [k] Lucian. pro Imag. c. 14. t. ii. p. 492. [l] Quintil. Inst. Orat. lib. 12. c. 10. p. 744. Liv. lib. 45. c. 28. [m] Anthol. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 301. [n] Strab. lib. 8. p. 354. Plut. in Æmil. t. i. p. 270. Valec. Max. lib. 3. c, 7.

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of Homer in which that poet says that a look of Jupiter suffices to shake Olympus.[o] These verses, by awakening in the soul of Phidias the image of the truly beautiful, of that ideal beauty which is discoverable only by the man of genius,[p] produced the Jupiter of Olympia; and whatever may be the fate of the predominant religion of Greece, the Olympian Jupiter will always remain a model for artists who shall wish worthily to represent the Supreme Being.

The Eleans knew the value of this admirable performance, and still point out to strangers the workshop of Phidias.[q] They have extended their bounty to the descendants of this great artist, and confided to them the care of maintaining the statue in all its splendour.[r] As the temple and its precinct are situate in a marshy ground, one of the methods employed to protect the ivory against humidity is by frequently pouring oil around the foot of the throne, on a part of the pavement appropriated for the purpose.[s]

From the temple of Jupiter we proceeded to that of Juno,[t] which is likewise of the Doric order, and surrounded with columns, but much more ancient than the former. Most of the statues we see there, whether of gold, or ivory, exhibit the rudeness of an infant art, though their antiquity does not exceed three hundred years. We were shewn the coffer of Cypselus,[u] in which that prince, who afterwards made

[o] Homer. Iliad. lib. i. v. 530. [p] Cicer. Orat. c. 2. t. i. p. 421. [q] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 15. p. 413. [r] Id. ibid. p. 412. [s] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 403. [t] Id. ibid. c. 17. p. 418. [u] Id. ibid. p. 419.

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himself master of Corinth, was shut up from his tenderest infancy by his mother, to conceal him from the researches of the enemies of his family. It is of cedar; the lid and the four sides are adorned with basso-relievos, some of them executed in the wood itself, the others in ivory and gold; they represent battles, games, and other subjects relative to the heroic ages, and are accompanied with inscriptions in ancient characters. We examined with pleasure the minute parts of this work, as they exhibited the rude state of the arts in Greece three centuries ago.

Near this temple games are celebrated,[x] over which preside sixteen women, selected from the eight tribes of the Eleans, and respectable for their virtue as well as birth. It is their duty to maintain two chorusses to sing hymns in honour of Juno, to embroider the superb veil which is displayed on the day of the festival, and to decree the prize of running to the girls of Elis. As soon as the signal is given, these youthful competitors dart into the course, almost half naked, and with their hair floating on their shoulders; the heroine who gains the victory receives an olive crown, and the still more flattering permission of placing her portrait in the temple of Juno.

On leaving this temple, we visited the avenues of the sacred precinct. Through the plane and olive trees, which shade this space,[y] we beheld on all sides columns, trophies, triumphal cars, statues

[x] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 16. p. 417. [y] Id. ibid. c. 16. page 450. Phleg. de Olymp. in Thes. Antiq. Græc. t. ix. p. 1295.

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without number, in brass and marble, some of the gods, and others of the victors;[z] for this temple of glory is open only to those who have a claim to immortality.

Several of these statues rest against columns, or are placed on pedestals, and all of them are accompanied with inscriptions specifying the motives of their consecration. We saw more than forty statues of Jupiter by different hands, the offerings of nations or individuals, some twenty-seven feet in height.[a] Those of the athletæ are extremely numerous; they have been placed here either by themselves,[b] their native cities,[c] or by nations of whom they had merited well.[d]

These monuments, which have greatly multiplied in four centuries, present, as it were, those who have obtained them to the admiration of posterity. They are exposed every fourth year to the view of an incredible concourse of spectators from all countries, who repair hither to witness the glory of the victors, to hear the recital of their combats, and with transport to point out to each other such as they are proud to rank in the number of their fellow-citizens. What happiness for humanity were such a sanctuary open only to virtuous men! No, I mistake; it would soon be violated by intrigue and hypocrisy, to which the applause and veneration of the people is infinitely more necessary than to virtue.

Whilst we were admiring these works of sculp-

[z] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 429. [a] Id. ibid. c. 24. p. 440. [b] Id. lib. 6. p. 497. [c] Id. ibid. p. 493. [d] Id. ibid. p. 480 et 492.

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ture, and observing the progress and last efforts of this art, our guides amused us with long narrations, and gave us many anecdotes of the persons whose resemblance we had before us. After directing our attention to two brazen cars, in one of which was Gelon, king of Syracuse, and in the other Hieron, his brother and successor:[e] Near Gelon, added they, you see the statue of Cleomedes. This athleta, having unfortunately slain his adversary in wrestling, the judges, by way of punishment, withheld from him the crown, which had such an effect on him that he became insane. Some time after, he entered a house appropriated to the education of youth, seized a column which supported the roof, and overturned it. Near sixty children perished under the ruins of the building.[f]

There is the statue of another athleta, named Timanthes. In his old age he continued daily to exercise himself with his bow; but being obliged to suspend this exercise during a journey, he found his strength so diminished at his return as to be unable to resume it; on which he prepared his own funeral pile, and threw himself into the flames.[g]

That mare, of which you see the figure, was surnamed the Wind, on account of her wonderful speed. One day, when she was running in the course, Philotas, who rode her, happened to fall; but she continued the race, doubled the pillar, and stopped

[e] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 9. p. 427; c. 12. p. 479. [f] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 474. [g] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 471.

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when she came to the judges, who decreed the crown to her master, and permitted him to be represented here with the partner of his victory.[h]

This wrestler was named Glaucus. When young and employed in tilling the ground, his father perceived with astonishment that, to drive in the ploughshare, which had got loose, he made use of his hand as he would of a hammer. This suggested to him the idea of bringing him here, where he proposed him for the combat of the cestus. Glaucus being pressed by an antagonist who alternately employed address and strength, was on the point of yielding the contest, when his father called out to him: Strike, son, as you did on the plough! on which the youth[i] redoubled his blows and was proclaimed victor.

The next is the statue of Theagenes, who, at the different games of Greece, it is said, obtained the prize twelve hundred times, at running, wrestling, and other exercises.[k] After his death, the statue erected to him by the city of Thasos, his native country, still excited the jealousy of a rival of Theagenes; every night he came to satiate his vengeance on the brass, and so shook it by his repeated blows, that he threw it down, and was crushed under it: the statue was brought to a regular trial, and thrown into the sea. The city of Thasos being afterwards afflicted with a famine, the oracle was consulted; which replied, that they had neglected the memory of Theagenes.[l]

[h] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 484. [i] Id. ibid. c. 13. p. 475.
[k] Plut. de Reip. Ger. Præcept. t. ii. p. 811. Pausan. ibid. c. 11. p. 477. [l] Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 479.

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Divine honours were consequently decreed to him, after they had recovered the statue from the water, and replaced it on its base.*

That other athleta bore his statue on his shoulders, and conveyed it to this place. He was the celebrated Milo, the same who in a war between the inhabitants of Croton, his native country, and the Sybarites, was placed at the head of the troops, and gained a signal victory. He appeared in the battle with a club, and the other insignia of Hercules, recalling that hero to the memory of the combatants by his appearance.[m] He often triumphed at our games and those of Delphi, and made frequent trials of his prodigious strength. Sometimes he placed himself on a quoit with oil poured on it to render it more slippery, and the most violent shocks were unable to stir him:[n] at other times he would hold a pomegranate, and, without crushing it, keep his hand so close, that the most vigorous athletæ tried in vain to wrest it from him, by forcing open his fingers;—but his mistress made him quit his hold.[o] It is likewise told of him, that he made the circuit of the stadium with an ox on his shoulders;[p] that being one day in a house with some disciples of Pythagoras, he saved their lives by sustaining the column which supported the roof, and was on the point of falling:[q] and that in his old age he

* The worship of Theagenes afterwards became more extensive; recourse was had to him more especially in sickness (Pausan. ibid.). [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 77. [n] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 14. p. 486. [o] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 24. [p] Athen. lib. 10. p. 412. [q] Strab. lib. 6. p. 263.

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became the prey of wild beasts, his hands being caught in the trunk of a tree, which had been partly split by wedges, while he attempted completely to divide it.[r]

We next saw some columns, on which were engraven treaties of alliance between different states of Greece:[s] they were deposited here that they might be held more sacred. But all these treaties have been violated, with the oaths by which they were confirmed; and the remaining columns do but testify the melancholy truth, that polished nations never are less sincere than when they engage to live in peace with each other.

To the north of the temple of Juno, at the foot of Mount Saturn,[t] is a causeway which extends as far as the course, on which several Greek states and foreign nations have erected edifices known by the name of treasuries. Similar repositories are seen at Delphi, but they are filled with precious offerings, whilst those of Olympia contain nothing but statues and monuments in a bad taste, or of little value. When we inquired the reason of this difference, one of the guides answered: We have an oracle, it is true, but it is in no great credit, and will soon possibly be silent.[u] Two or three predictions, justified by the event, have procured to that of Delphi the confidence of a few sovereigns, and the example of their liberality has been followed by all nations.

In the mean time the people were thronging to

[r] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 14. p. 487. [s] Id. lib. 5. c. 12. p. 407.
[t] Id. lib. 6. cap. 19. p. 497. [u] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 4. p. 533. Strab. lib. 8. p. 353.

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Olympia.[x] By sea and land, from all parts of Greece, and from the most distant countries, multitudes were hastening to be present at these festivals, which in celebrity infinitely surpass all other solemnities, notwithstanding they are destitute of a charm which would render them more brilliant. Women are not admitted to them, on account, doubtless, of the nudity of the athletæ. The law excluding them is so severe, that every female who dares to violate it is thrown from the summit of a rock.[y] Yet the priestesses of a temple have an appointed place,[z] and may be present at certain exercises.

The first day of the games falls on the eleventh of the month Hecatombæon, which begins with the new moon following the summer solstice. They continue five days, and at the end of the last, which is the time of the full moon, the solemn proclamation is made of the names and country of the victors.[a] They opened in the evening* with several sacrifices offered up on altars erected in honour of different deities, either in or near the temple of Jupiter.[b] All were adorned with festoons and garlands,[c] and all were successively

[x] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. cap. 18. p. 361. [y] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 389. [z] Id. lib. 6. c. 20. Sueton. in Neron. c. 12. [a] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 33; et 5. v. 14. Schol. ibid. Dodwel. de Cycl. diss. 4. § 2 et 3. Corsin. Dissert. Agon. p. 13. Id. Fast. Attic. dissert. 13. p. 295. * In the first year of the 106th Olympiad, the first day of Hecatombæon fell on the evening of the 17th of July, of the Julian proleptic year 356 before Christ; and the 11th of Hecatombæon began on the evening of the 27th of July. [b] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 14. p. 411. [c] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 16.

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sprinkled with the blood of the victims.[d] The first sacrifice was offered on the grand altar of Jupiter, situate between the temple of Juno and the precinct of Pelops.[e] This is the principal object of national devotion; there the Eleans offer daily sacrifices, and foreigners at all seasons of the year. It stands on a large square base, the ascent to which is by stone steps. On it is a sort of terrace, on which the victims are sacrificed, and in the middle is the altar, which is twenty-two feet in height: the ascent to the upper part of it is by steps formed by the ashes of the victims, kneaded with the water of the Alpheus.

The ceremonies were continued till the night was far advanced, and were performed to the sound of instruments, and by the light of the moon, which was near its full, with a regularity and magnificence which at once inspires astonishment and respect. At midnight, as soon as these were ended, most of the persons present, with an earnestness which never ceases during the whole time of the festivals,[f] went instantly to take their places in the course, the better to enjoy the spectacle of the games, which were to commence at day-break.

The Olympic course is divided into two parts, the stadium and the hippodromus.[g] The stadium is a causeway six hundred feet long,*[h] and of a propor-

[d] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 14. p. 411. [e] Id. ibid. p. 409. [f] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 481. [g] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 502. * 94 toises 3 feet (or 604 feet English). [h] Herodot. lib. 2. c. 149. Censorin. de Die Nat. c. 13. Aul. Gell. lib. 1. c. 1.

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tionable width: this is the place for the foot-races, and most of the combats. The hippodromus is appropriated to races of chariots and horses. One side of it stretches along a hill; the other, which is something longer, is formed by a causeway.[i] It is six hundred feet broad, and twelve hundred long,[k]* and is separated from the stadium by a building called a barrier. This is a portico, in front of which is a spacious court, in the form of the prow of a ship, the walls of which approach each other, and having an opening to the extremity large enough to permit several chariots to enter abreast. In the inside of this court are erected in different parallel lines, outhouses for the chariots and horses.[l] These are assigned by lot, some being more advantageously situate than others. The stadium and hippodrome are decorated with statues, altars, and other monuments,[m] to which were affixed the list and order of the combats to be exhibited during the festivals.[n]

The order of the combats has sometimes varied:[o]† the general rule observed at present is to dedicate the morning to what are called the lighter exercises, such as races of every kind; and the afternoon to those which are termed heavy or violent,[p] as wrestling, pugilistic combats, &c.[q]

[i] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 504 et 505. [k] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 16. p. 491. Id. lib. 5. c. 2. p. 406. Plut. in Sol. t. i. p. 91. * 189 toises (1208 feet English). [l] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 503. [m] Id. ibid. [n] Dion. lib. 79. p. 1359. [o] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 9. p. 396. † See Note XXI. at the end of the volume. [p] Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 222. [q] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 24. p. 513.

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At the first dawn of day we repaired to the stadium, which was already filled with athletæ, exercising themselves in preparatory skirmishes,[r] and surrounded by a multitude of spectators; while others in still greater numbers were stationing themselves confusedly on a hill, in form of an amphitheatre, above the course. Chariots were flying over the plain; on all sides was heard the sound of trumpets, and the neighing of horses mingled with the shouts of the multitude. But when we were able to divert our eyes for a moment from this spectacle, and to contrast with the tumultuous agitations of the public joy the repose and silence of nature, how delightful were the impressions we experienced from the serenity of the sky, the delightful coolness of the air, the Alpheus, which here forms a magnificent canal,[s] and the fertile fields illumed and embellished by the first rays of the sun!

A moment after we saw the athletæ suspend their exercises, and take the road to the sacred precinct. We followed them, and saw in the chamber of the senate the eight presidents of the games dressed in rich habits and all the insignia of their dignity.[t] Here at the foot of a statue of Jupiter, and on the bleeding members of the victims,[u] the athletæ called the gods to witness that they had been exercised ten months at the combats in which they were about to engage. They solemnly vowed not to employ unfair means, but to conduct themselves

[r] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. c. 34.
[s] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 389.
[t] Fabr. Agon. lib. 1. c. 19.
[u] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 441.

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with honour. Their relations and instructors likewise took the same oath.[x]

This ceremony ended, we returned to the stadium. The athletæ entered the barrier at the hither end of it, stripped off all their clothes, put buskins on their feet, and had their whole bodies rubbed with oil.[y] Subordinate officers were stationed on all sides, both in the course and amongst the numerous crowd of spectators, to preserve order.[z]

When the presidents had taken their places, a herald proclaimed: "Let the runners in the stadium advance."[a] A great number instantly appeared, and stationed themselves in a line, according to the rank assigned them by lot.[b] The herald recited their names, and the country whence they came:[c] if any of these names had been rendered illustrious by some preceding victory, they were received with the loudest applauses. After the herald had added: "Can any one reproach these athletæ with having been in bonds, or of leading an irregular life?"[d] there reigned a profound silence, and I felt myself animated by the same interest which actuated every heart, and which is not to be experienced in the spectacles of other nations. Instead of beholding, at the opening of the lists, a number of the populace about to contend for a few olive leaves, I no longer saw

[x] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 441. [y] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 6. Poll. lib. 3. § 155. [z] Etymol. Magn. in Λυταρχ. [a] Plat. de Leg. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 833. Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4. p. 159. [b] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 13. p. 482. [c] Heliod. Æthiop. lib. 4. p. 162. [d] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xiii. p. 481.

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any but free men, who, entrusted with the glory[e] or disgrace of their country, by the unanimous consent of Greece, were exposing themselves to the alternative of contempt or honour, in presence of many thousand witnesses,[f] ready to return home with the name of the victors and the vanquished. Hope and fear were depicted in the anxious countenance of the spectators: and their sensations became more lively as the moment approached which was to decide their doubts. This moment arrived. The trumpet gave the signal;[g] the runners set off, and like lightning reached the goal, where sat the presidents of the games. The herald proclaimed the name of Porus of Cyrene,[h] which was re-echoed by a thousand voices.

The honour which he obtained is the first and most splendid of those decreed at the Olympic games, the simple race of the stadium being the most ancient of any that are practised at these festivals.[i] In process of time it has been much diversified. We saw it successively performed by children scarcely in their twelfth year,[k] and by men who ran with a helmet and buckler, and a sort of buskins.[l]

On the following days other champions were called upon to run the double stadium, that is after reaching the extremity and doubling the goal, they were to re-

[e] Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 8. Schol. ibid. [f] Lucian. de Gymn. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 890. [g] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 713. [h] Diod. Sic. lib. 16. c. 2. p. 406. Afric. ap. Euseb. in Chron. Græc. p. 41. [i] Pausan. lib. 4. 5. c. 8. p. 394. [k] Id. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 456; lib. 7. cap. 17. p. 567. [l] Id. lib. 6. cap. 10. p. 475; et c. 17. p. 493.

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turn to the place of their departure.[m] These were followed by athletæ, who ran twelve times the length of the stadium.[n] Some were competitors in several of these exercises, and carried off more than one prize.[o] Among the incidents which at intervals awakened the attention of the assembly, we saw some of the runners make off, and escape from the insults of the spectators; and others, on the point of attaining the summit of their wishes, suddenly fall on a slippery piece of ground. Some again were pointed out to us, who scarcely left the impression of their feet.[p] Two men of Croton long kept the multitude in suspense; they had got greatly the start of their adversaries, when one of them having pushed the other down, a general outcry was raised against him, and he was deprived of the honour of the victory; for such methods of procuring it are expressly prohibited,[q] the spectators alone being allowed to animate by their shouts the runners in whose success they are interested.[r]

The victors were not crowned till the last day of the festivals;[s] but at the end of the race they received or rather carried off a temporary palm.[t] This moment was the commencement of a series of triumphs.

[m] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 17. p. 420. [n] Bernard. de pond. et Mens. lib. 3. N° 32. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 309 et 311; tom. ix. p. 390. [o] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 13. p. 482, &c. [p] Solin. c. 1. p. 9. [q] Lucian. de Calum. c. 12. t. iii. p. 141. Pausan. lib. 5. p. 441. [r] Plat. in Phædon. t. i. p. 61. Isocr. in Evag. t. ii. p. 111. [s] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 33; Olymp. 5. v. 14. [t] Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. Quæst. 4. Pollux. lib. 3. § 145. Etymol. Magn. in Βραβ.

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Every one thronged to see and congratulate them; their relations, friends, and countrymen shedding tears of tenderness and joy, lifted them on their shoulders to show them to the crowd, and held them up to the applauses of the whole assembly, who strewed handfuls of flowers over them.[u]

The next day we repaired early to the hippodrome, where horse and chariot races were to be held. These can only take place between the rich, as they require a very great expense.[x] Through all Greece, individuals make a study and a merit of breeding the species of horses proper for the course, and of preparing and bringing them into the lists at the public games.[y] As the candidates for these prizes are not obliged personally to contend for them, sovereigns and republics frequently rank themselves among the competitors, entrusting their glory to able horsemen. In the list of victors we find Theron, king of Agrigentum; Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse;[z] Archelaus, king of Macedon; Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon; and many others, as well as several Grecian cities. It may easily be imagined, that such rivals must excite the warmest emulation. Individuals not only attempt to equal, but even sometimes surpass, the magnificence they display. It is still remembered, that at the games in which Alcibiades was crowned, seven cha-

[u] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 469. Clem. Alex. Phædotr. lib. 2. c. 8. p. 213. [x] Isocr. de Bigis, t. ii. p. 437. [y] Pind. Isthm. 2. v. 55. Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 1. p. 453; c. 2. 12, &c. [z] Pind. Olymp 1, 2. Pausan. p. 473 et 479. Plut. Apophth. Lac. t. ii. p. 230. Solin. c. 9. p. 26.

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riots entered the course in the name of that celebrated Athenian, and that three of them obtained the first, second, and fourth prizes.[a]

Whilst we were waiting for the signal, the persons near us directed our attention to a brass dolphin placed at the entrance of the lists, and an eagle of the same metal resting on an altar in the middle of the barrier. We presently saw the dolphin sink and hide itself in the ground, and the eagle rise up with its wings spread, and show itself to the spectators:[b] a number of horsemen then darted forward into the hippodromus, passed by us with the rapidity of lightning, turned round the goal at the extremity, some slackening and others increasing their speed, till one of them redoubling his efforts, left behind him his mortified antagonists.

The victor had contended for the prize in the name of Philip king of Macedon, who aspired to every species of glory, and that with so much success, that he entreated Fortune to temper her favours by some adverse accident;[c] for within the space of a few days he had gained the victory at the Olympic games; Parmenio, one of his generals, had defeated the Illyrians; and his wife Olympias was brought to bed of a son, the celebrated Alexander.[d]

After some athletæ, who had scarcely attained the age of manhood, had run the same course,[e] it was

[a] Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 16. Isocr. de Bigis. page 437. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196. [b] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 503. [c] Plut. Apophth. t. ii. p. 177. [d] Id. in Alex. t. i. p. 666. Justin. lib. 12. c. 16. [e] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 455.

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filled by a number of chariots following each other. In one race they were drawn by two horses,[f] in another by two colts, and in the last by four horses, which is the most splendid of all.

To obtain a better sight of the preparations, we went within the barrier, where we saw several magnificent chariots kept in by ropes, which extended along each range, and which were to be let fall one after the other.[g] The persons who drove them were dressed only in a light stuff. Their coursers, whose ardour they could scarcely restrain, attracted every eye by their beauty, and some also by the victories which they had already gained.[h] As soon as the signal was given they advanced as far as the second line,[i] and, joining in this manner the other lines, they all formed but one front at the starting place of the course. In an instant we saw them covered with dust,[k] crossing and jostling each other, and driving along their chariots with such rapidity that the eye could scarcely follow. Their impetuosity redoubled when they came to the statue of a genius, who is said to inspire them with a secret terror;[l] and still more increased on hearing the shrill sound of the trumpets,[m] placed near a certain boundary famous for the accidents it occasions. This stretches across the course, and a narrow pass only is left for the chariots, which often baffles the skill of the drivers. The

[f] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 395. [g] Id. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 503. [h] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 103. [i] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 503. [k] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 716. Horat. Od. 1. [l] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 504. [m] Id. ibid. c. 13. p. 484.

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danger is more imminent, as this boundary must be doubled no less than twelve times; for they are required to run twelve times the length of the hippodrome in going and returning.[n]

At each time of passing it some accident happened that excited pity, or insulting laughter, from the assembly. Some chariots had been hurried out of the lists; others had been dashed to pieces, and the course was covered with their fragments, which added to the danger of the race. But five competitors now remained, a Thessalian, a Libyan, a Syracusan, a Corinthian, and a Theban. The three first were on the point of doubling the boundary for the last time, when the Thessalian, striking against it,[o] fell entangled among the reins; and whilst his horses were rolling over those of the Libyan, who was close to him, the horses of the Syracusan plunged into a ditch on the edge of the course.[p] The hippodrome resounded with loud shouts and piercing cries. In the mean time the Corinthian and Theban came up, seized the favourable moment, passed the boundary, goaded their fiery steeds, and presented themselves to the judges, who decreed the first prize to the Corinthian, and the second to the Theban.

During the continuance of the festival, and in the vacant intervals of the day, we quitted the hurry of the course, and visited the environs of Olympia.

[n] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 59; Schol. ibid. Olymp. 6. v. 126. Schol. ibid. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 314; t. ix. p. 391. [o] Sophocl. in Electr. v. 747. [p] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ix. p. 384.

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Sometimes we amused ourselves with observing the theoriæ, or deputations, who came to offer to Jupiter the homage of almost all the nations of Greece:[q] sometimes we admired the address and activity of the foreign traders, who resorted hither to expose to sale their merchandize:[r] and at others were present at those ceremonies by which particular cities conferred marks of distinction on each other.[s] For this purpose they had passed edicts, mutually decreeing crowns and statues, which were read at the Olympic games, to render their gratitude as public as the favours they had received.

Walking one day beside the Alpheus, the banks of which, shaded with various kinds of trees, were covered with tents of different colours,[t] we saw a handsome youth throwing into the river pieces of a palm branch that he held in his hand, and accompanying this offering with secret vows. He had just gained the prize of running, and was scarcely in his third lustrum. On our questioning him, he answered: Alpheus, whose copious and limpid waters fertilise this country, was a hunter of Arcadia;[u] he sighed for Arethusa, who fled him, and to escape from his pursuit took refuge in Sicily. She was changed into a fountain, and he into a river; but as his love was not extinguished, the gods, to crown his constancy, granted him a passage through the sea, and per-

[q] Dinarch. in Demosth. page 100. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 15. p. 414. [r] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 5. c. 3. t. ii. p. 362. [s] Demosth. de Cor. p. 487. [t] Andocid. in Alcib. p. 33. [u] Id. ibid. c. 7. p. 390.

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mitted him to unite with Arethusa. The youth as he ended these words sighed.

We frequently returned to the sacred precinct. Here the athletæ who had not yet entered the lists were endeavouring to discover their destiny in the entrails of the victims.[x] Their trumpeters, seated on a great altar, were contending for the prize, the sole object of their ambition.[y] Further on a crowd of strangers, ranged around a portico, were listening to an echo which repeated their words seven times.[z] Every where we had before our eyes signal examples of vanity and ostentation; for these games attract not only those who have already acquired celebrity, but all who wished to distinguish themselves by their talents, their knowledge, or their riches.[a] Hither they resort to exhibit themselves to the multitude, ever eager to run after those who possess, or affect to possess superiority.

After the battle of Salamis, Themistocles appeared in the midst of the stadium, which instantly rang with shouts of applause. The games were neglected, and all eyes fixed on him during the whole day; with exclamations of joy and admiration, they pointed out to strangers the man who had saved Greece; and Themistocles himself acknowledged this to be the noblest day of his life.[b]

We were likewise informed that Plato was ho-

[x] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 3. Schol. ibid. [y] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 434. [z] Plut. de Garrul. t. ii. p. 502. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 434. [a] Isocr. de Bigis, p. 436. [b] Plut. in Themist. t. i. p. 120.

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noured in nearly the same manner at the last Olympiad. When he appeared at the games, the whole assembly viewed him with delight, and testified their joy at his presence by the most flattering expressions.[c]

We were witnesses to a still more affecting scene. An old man was looking for a place, and after in vain attempting to find one on several benches, from which he was repulsed with offensive pleasantries, he came to that of the Lacedæmonians; when immediately all the youth and men respectfully rose, and offered him their seats. The loudest plaudits were instantly heard on all sides: upon which the old man could not refrain from saying, "All the Greeks know the rules of decorum, but the Lacedæmonians practise them."[d]

Within the circle I saw a pupil of Zeuxis the painter, who, after the example of his master,[e] was walking in a magnificent purple robe, on which his name was inscribed in golden letters. The people every where cried out to him: Thou mayest imitate the vanity of Zeuxis, but thou art not Zeuxis.

I saw a Cyrenean and a Corinthian, one of whom enumerated his riches, while the other displayed a long list of ancestors. The Cyrenean appeared offended at the ostentation of his neighbour, while the latter laughed at the pride of the Cyrenean.

I likewise saw an Ionian, who with very moderate abilities had succeeded in a negotiation confided to him by his country. He had in his favour that respect which fools always entertain for upstarts.

[c] Neanth. ap. Laërt. lib. 3. § 25. [d] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 235. [e] Plin. lib. 35. c. 9. t. ii. p. 691.

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One of his friends left him to whisper me in the ear, that he never could have thought it so easy to become a great man.

Not far from thence was a sophist, holding a vessel filled with perfumes, and a large comb, as if going to the baths. After laughing at the impertinence of others, he mounted on one of the sides of the temple of Jupiter, placed himself in the middle of the colonnade,[f] and from that elevated station cried out to the people: You see this ring, I engraved it: this vessel and comb I made myself; my buskins, my cloke, my tunic and sash, are all of my own workmanship. I am ready to read to you heroic poems, tragedies, dithyrambics, and all kinds of works in prose and verse, which I have composed on all sorts of subjects. I am ready to discourse on music and grammar. Here I stand, in fine, to answer all sorts of questions.[g]

Whilst this sophist was so complacently exhibiting his inordinate vanity, painters were exposing to the public eye their newly-finished pictures,[h] and rhapsodists sang fragments of Homer and of Hesiod: one of them gave us a whole poem of Empedocles.[i] Poets, orators, philosophers, and historians, had stationed themselves in the peristyles of the temples, and in all the most conspicuous places, and recited their productions:* some treated on moral subjects, others

[f] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 4. c. 31. p. 170. [g] Plat. Hipp. t. i. p. 363 et 368. [h] Lucian. in Herod. cap. 4. t. i. p. 834. [i] Athen. lib. 14. c. 3. p. 620. * Lucian. ibid. c. 3. Plut. Rhet. vit. t. ii. p. 886. Pausan. lib. 6. c. 17. p. 495, &c. Philostr. Nit. Soph. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 493, &c.

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pronounced eulogies on the Olympic games, or their respective countries, or on princes to whom they were humble suitors for protection.[k]

About thirty years since, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, wished to attract the admiration of this assembly. Under the direction of his brother Thearides, he sent a solemn deputation, laden with offerings for Jupiter; several chariots with four horses to contend for the prize in the hippodrome; a great number of rich tents, which were erected in the neighbouring plain; and a multitude of able declaimers, publicly to recite the poetry he had composed. The abilities and harmonious voices of these performers at first engaged the attention of the Greeks, already prepossessed by such magnificent preparations; but soon wearied with this insipid haranguing, they vented the most bitter sarcasms against Dionysius, and carried their attempt so far as to throw down and pillage his tents. To complete his disgrace, his chariots ran out of the course, or were dashed to pieces against each other, and the vessel which carried back this pompous train was thrown by a tempest on the coast of Italy. Whilst it was said in the city of Syracuse that the verses of Dionysius had entailed ill fortune on the declaimers, the horses, and the ship, the courtiers insisted that envy was the inseparable concomitant of transcendent abilities.[l] Four years after, Dionysius sent new productions, and more able reciters, but they failed still more disgracefully than the

[k] Plut. Rhet. Vit. t. ii. p. 845.

[l] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 318.

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former. At this intelligence he fell into the most violent paroxysms of phrensy; and having nothing to solace his affliction but the resource of tyrants, he banished some of his subjects, and struck off the heads of others.[m]

We assiduously attended the lectures which were given at Olympia. The presidents of the games sometimes attended, and the people crowded to hear them. One day, while they were listening with more than ordinary attention, the name of Polydamas on a sudden resounded on all sides, and most of the auditors ran to see him. He was a Thessalian athleta, of prodigious size and strength. It is told of him, that being unarmed on Mount Olympus, he beat down an enormous lion; that having seized a furious bull, the animal could only escape by leaving part of his hoof in the hands of the athleta; and that the strongest horses were unable to move a chariot when he held it with a single hand. He had gained several victories at the public games, but arriving now too late at Olympia, was precluded from the competition. We afterwards learnt the tragical end of this extraordinary man. Having entered a cave with some of his friends to shelter himself from the heat, the ground above opened, and his friends made their escape; but Polydamus attempting to sustain the mountain was crushed to death.[n] *

The greater the difficulty men find to distinguish themselves in polished nations, the more restless does

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 332. [n] Pausan. y. 463. * See note XXII. at the end of the volume.

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their vanity become, and the more capable is it of proceeding to absurd excesses. In another journey which I made to Olympia, I saw there a physician of Syracuse named Menecrates, attended by several of the patients whom he had cured, and with whom he previously stipulated that they should follow him wherever he went.° One appeared with the attributes of Hercules, another with those of Apollo, and others again with those of Mercury or Æsculapius; while he, clad in a purple robe, with a golden crown on his head, and a sceptre in his hand, presented himself, to the admiration of the public, under the name of Jupiter, and travelled through different countries escorted by these counterfeit deities. He once wrote the following letter to the king of Macedon:

"Menecrates-Jupiter to Philip, greeting. Thou reignest in Macedonia, and I in medicine; thou givest death to those who are in good health, I restore life to the sick; thy guard is composed of Macedonians; the gods themselves constitute mine." Philip answered him in a word, that he wished him restored to reason.* Learning some time after that he was in Macedon, Philip sent for him and invited him to an entertainment. Menecrates and his companions were placed on rich and lofty couches, before which was an altar covered with the first fruits of the harvest; and whilst an excellent repast was served up to the other guests, perfumes and libations only were

° Athen. lib. 7. c. 10. p. 289. * Plutarch (Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 213.) attributes this answer to Agesilaus, to whom, according to him, the letter was addressed.

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offered to these new gods, who, unable to endure the affront, hastily left the palace, in which they never more made their appearance.

Another anecdote will serve to depict in no less striking colours the manners of the Greeks, and the frivolity of their character. Eight years ago an affray happened within the sacred precinct, during the celebration of the games. The people of Pisa had usurped the direction of the games[p] from the Eleans, who endeavoured to recover their rights. Both parties, supported by their respective allies, entered the enclosure, and a sharp and bloody contest ensued. The numberless spectators who had assembled at the festival, and who were most of them crowned with garlands, ranged themselves around the field of battle to see the fight, without seeming to be more interested on the occasion than by the combats of the athletæ, and alternately applauded with the same ardour the success of either party.[q] *

[p] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 4. p. 460. [q] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 639. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 387.

* A similar scene, but much more horrible, was exhibited at Rome at the commencement of the empire. The soldiers of Vespasian and those of Vitellius fought a murderous battle in the Campus Martius; and the people, collected round the two armies, alternately applauded the success of each. (Tacit. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 83.) We may perceive, however, in these two parallel examples a striking difference. At Olympia the spectators appeared to be actuated only by curiosity; but in the Campus Martius they gave themselves up to the extravagance of a barbarous joy. Without recurring to the difference of character and manners, we may say that on these two occasions the battle was extraneous to the Greeks; but to the Romans it was a consequence of their civil wars.

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It now remains for me to speak of the exercises which require more strength than the preceding; such as wrestling, boxing, the pancratium and the pentathlon. Without observing the regular succession of these combats, I shall begin with wrestling.

In this exercise, the struggle is to bring the adversary to the ground, and force him to acknowledge himself vanquished. The candidates, to the number of seven, remained in an adjoining portico until they were called at noon.[r] Seven billets were thrown into a box placed before the presidents:[s] two of them marked with the letter A, two with the letter B, two with a C, and the seventh with a D. After shaking them in the box, each athleta drew out his, and one of the presidents matched the two who had drawn the same letter. Thus there were three pair of wrestlers, and the seventh was reserved to combat the conquerors of the others.[t] They stripped off all their clothes, and, being rubbed with oil,[u] rolled themselves in the dust, that their antagonists might have less hold in grappling.[x]

A Theban and an Argive immediately advanced into the stadium. They approached, and after eyeing each other, began the onset by grappling with their arms. Now resting against each other's forehead,[y] they pushed with equal strength; then for a while seemed motionless, and again exhausted themselves

[r] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 6. c. 6. p. 235. [s] Lucian in Hermot. c. 40. t. i. p. 783. Fabr. lib. 1. c. 24. [t] Julian. Cæsar. p. 317. [u] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. c. 5. [x] Lucian. in Anach. t. ii. p. 901. [y] Id. ibid. p. 884.

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with ineffectual efforts; now shaking their whole bodies with the most violent agitations, they intertwined their limbs like serpents, stretching them out and contracting them alternately: and now they writhed themselves into every attitude, backward, forward, and on each side,[z] while a copious sweat flowed from their enfeebled limbs. They then took a short breathing; but presently grasping each other by the middle, after fresh exertions of stratagem and force, the Theban lifted up his adversary; but, sinking beneath his weight, they fall, roll in the dust, and each is uppermost in his turn. At length the Theban, locking fast the legs and arms of his opponent, prevented him from moving, and keeping him under, seized him by the throat, until he lifted his hand in token of defeat.[a] This is not enough, however, to obtain the crown; the victor must give his antagonist at least two falls,[b] and in general the contest is extended to three.[c] The Argive had the advantage in the second struggle, and the Theban resumed his superiority in the third.

After the two other pairs of wrestlers had finished their combats, the vanquished withdrew, overwhelmed with shame and grief.[d] There remained three victors, an Agrigentine, an Ephesian, and the Theban. A Rhodian likewise remained who had drawn the seventh lot. He had the advantage

[z] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 237. [a] Fabr. Agon. lib. 1. c. 8. [b] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 250. [c] Æschyl. in Eumen. v. 592. Schol. ibid. Plat. in Euthyd. i. p. 277, &c. [d] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 90.

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of entering fresh into the lists, but could not gain the prize without being more than once victorious.[e] He triumphed over the Agrigentine, and was thrown by the Ephesian, who being worsted by the Theban, the latter carried off the palm. Thus a first victory must be followed by others; and in a competition of seven athletæ it may so happen, that the victor may be obliged to wrestle with four antagonists,[f] and have with each of them three separate onsets.

The wrestler is not allowed to give his adversary any blows; in pugilistic exercises the contest is confined to striking. Eight athletæ presented themselves to the judges, and were matched, like the wrestlers, by lot. They had their heads covered with brass caps,[g] and their closed hands were bound with a sort of gauntlet, formed of leathern thongs twisted in every direction.[h]

The attacks were as various as the accidents that followed them. Sometimes we saw two boxers make different shifts to keep the sun from their eyes, pass whole hours in observing each other, and watching the moment when the adversary should leave any part of his body exposed,[i] holding their arms uplifted, and so stretched as to cover the head, and rapidly moving them to keep the enemy from approaching.[k] Sometimes they set to with fury, and

[e] Æschyl. in Choeph. v. 866. [f] Pind. Olymp. 8. v. 90. [g] Eustath. in Iliad. 23. p. 1324. lign. 38. [h] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 267. [i] Lucian. de Calumn. t. iii. p. 139. [k] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 273.

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furiously gave and received innumerable blows. Some we saw who, missing a blow darted at their enemy, fell violently with their whole weight on the ground and desperately bruised their bodies; others who, spent with fatigue, and covered with mortal wounds, suddenly rose, and acquired new strength from despair; others again carried off from the field of battle[l] with not a feature of their faces to be distinguished, and no other sign of life but the blood which they vomited in copious streams.

I shuddered at the sight of this spectacle; but still more lively were my feelings when I beheld children initiated in this cruel art;[m] for they are called to the combats of wrestling and the cestus prior to those of the grown men.[n] The Greeks nevertheless enjoyed these scenes of horror, and by their shouts animated these wretches, exasperated as they were, against each other.[o] Yet are the Greeks gentle and humane! Certainly the gods made us a very fatal and humiliating present, when they bestowed on us the power of accustoming ourselves to every thing, even so as to make a sport of barbarity as well as vice.

The cruel exercises to which these children are brought up exhaust them at so early an age, that in the list of victors at the Olympic games we scarcely find more than two or three who have gained the

[l] Anthol. lib. 2. c. 1. epigr. 14. [m] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 395; lib. 6. c. 1. p. 452. [n] Plut. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 639. [o] Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. c. 30.

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prize in their infancy, and again in a more advanced time of life.[p]

In the other exercises it is easy to decide on the success; but in boxing this can only be determined by one of the combatants acknowledging his defeat. So long as he has any strength remaining he never despairs of the victory, as it may depend on his efforts and firmness. We were told that one of these men having his teeth broken by a dreadful blow, swallowed them; and that his antagonist, finding this stroke ineffectual, despaired of success, and owned himself vanquished.[q]

It is this hope that induces the athleta to conceal his pain under a menacing and fierce countenance, and frequently risk his life, nay, sometimes actually expire,[r] notwithstanding the attention of the victor, and the severity of the laws, which prohibit the conqueror from killing his adversary, under penalty of forfeiting the crown.[s] But if they escape this danger, most of them are lamed for life, or disfigured by scars.[t] Hence it is, that this is the least esteemed of any of the exercises, and is almost wholly abandoned to the lower classes of the people.[u]

But these hardy and ferocious men support blows and wounds more easily than the heat which overpowers them:[x] for these combats take place in the

[p] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 453. [q] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10. c. 19. [r] Schol. Pind. Olymp. 5. v. 35. [s] Pausan. lib. 6. cap. 9. p. 474. [t] Anthol. lib. 2. cap. 1. epigr. 1 et 2. [u] Isocr. de Bigis, p. 437. [x] Cicer. de Clar. Orat. cap. 69. t. i. p. 394.

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hottest part of Greece, in the season of the year, and at the hour of the day when the rays of the sun are so ardent as to be almost intolerable to the spectators.[y]

It was at a time when they shone with redoubled violence, that the combat of the pancratium began, an exercise composed of boxing and wrestling,[z] with this difference, that as the athletæ are not to seize the body, their hands are not armed with gauntlets, and give less dangerous blows. The action was soon terminated: a Sicyonian, named Sostratus, a champion celebrated for the number of prizes he had won, and the strength and skill which had procured them, had arrived the preceding day.[a] The greater part of the combatants yielded up all pretensions to the crown as soon as he appeared,[b] and the others on the first trial; for in those preliminary essays, in which the athletæ try their strength by taking each other's hands, he squeezed and twisted the fingers of his adversaries with such violence as instantly to decide the victory in his favour.

The athletæ I have mentioned contended only in this exercise; those of whom I am about to speak were versed in every species of combat: for the pentathlon comprises not only foot-racing, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium, but leaping, and throwing the quoit and javelin.[c]

[y] Aristot. Problem. 38. t. ii. p. 837. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14. c. 18. [z] Aristot. de Rhet. t. ii. p. 524. Plut. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 4. t. ii. p. 628. [a] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 4. p. 460. [b] Philon. de eo quod deter. p. 160. [c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 320.

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In the latter exercises it is only necessary to dart the javelin, and hit the mark. Quoits are pieces of stone or metal, of a lenticular form, that is to say, round, and thicker in the middle than at the edges, very heavy, and with a polished surface, which renders them extremely difficult to hold.[d] Three of these are kept at Olympia, and produced at the games;[e] one of them is perforated to introduce a strap.[f] The athleta stands on a little eminence[g] thrown up in the stadium, and holding the quoit in his hand, or whirling it round by means of a sling,[h] launches it with all his strength, till it falls at length, and rolls along the course. The place where it stops is marked, and the object of the antagonists is to go beyond it.

The same advantage must be gained in leaping, all the motions of which exercise are executed to the sound of the flute.[i] The athletæ hold balance-poles in their hands, which enable them, as they pretend, to leap a greater distance.[k] Some of them jump upwards of fifty feet.[l] *

The athletæ who dispute the prize of the pentathlon, must, to obtain it, have triumphed, at least,

[d] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. iii. p. 334. [e] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 19. p. 498. [f] Eustath. in Iliad. 8. p. 1591. [g] Philostr. Icon. lib. 1. c. 24. p. 798. [h] Homer. Iliad. lib. 23. v. 840; Odyss. lib. 8. v. 189. [i] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 392; c. 17. p. 421. [k] Aristot. problem. 5. t. ii. p. 709; de Animal. Incess. c. 3. t. i. p. 374. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 26. p. 446. Lucian de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 909. [l] Eustath. in Odys. lib. 8. t. iii. p. 1591. Schol. Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 213. * 47 French feet 2 inches (50 feet 2 inches English.)

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in the three first contests they had undertaken.[m] Though unable to enter the lists individually with the athletæ of each particular profession, they are held nevertheless in high estimation,[n] since, by applying themselves to give the body all the strength, suppleness, and activity of which it is capable, they accomplish every object proposed in the institution of the gymnastic games.

The last day of the festival was set apart to crown the victors.[o] This ceremony, so glorious for them, was performed in the sacred grove,[p] and preceded by pompous sacrifices. When finished, the victors repaired in the retinue of the presidents of the games, to the theatre, dressed in rich habits,[q] and holding palm in their hands.[r] They marched, intoxicated with joy,[s] to the sound of flutes,[t] and surrounded by an immense multitude, who made the air ring with their applauses. Other athletæ next made their appearance mounted on horses and in chariots. Their stately coursers, adorned with flowers,[u] displayed themselves with all the pride of victory, and seemed to participate in the triumph.

When they arrived at the theatre, the presidents of the games ordered the choruses to begin the hymn

[m] Plut. Sympos. lib. 9. t. ii. p. 738. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 232. [n] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 322. [o] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 3. v. 33. Id. in Olymp. 5. v. 14. p. 56. [p] Philostr. Vit. Apoll. lib. 8. c. 18. [q] Lucian in Demon. t. ii. p. 382. [r] Plut. Sympos. lib. 8. c. 4. t. ii. p. 723. Vitruv. Præfat. lib. 9. 4. p. 173. [s] Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 6. [t] Pausan. lib. 5. p. 392. [u] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 10.

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formerly composed by the poet Archilochus, to exalt the glory of the victors, and heighten the splendor of the ceremony.[x] After the surrounding multitude had joined, at each chorus, their voices to those of the musicians, the herald arose, and proclaimed, that Porus, a native of Sicyon, had gained the prize of the stadium. This athleta then presented himself to the chief of the presidents,[y] who placed on his head a crown of wild olive, gathered like all those distributed at Olympia, from a tree growing behind the temple of Jupiter,[z] and which, from the use to which it is applied, is become an object of public veneration. At this moment all the expressions of joy and admiration with which he was honoured at the moment of victory, were renewed with such ardour and profusion, that Porus appeared to me to have attained the utmost summit of human glory.[a] In this light indeed is he viewed by the whole assembly, and I no longer felt any surprise at the difficulties and labour to which the athletæ submit, nor at the extraordinary effects this concert of applauses has more than once produced. We were told that, on a similar occasion, the sage Chilo expired with joy, while embracing his son who had just gained the victory,[b] and that the whole assembly at the Olympic games made a point of attending at his funeral. In the last cen-

[x] Id. Olymp. 9. v. 1. Schol. ibid. [y] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 21. [z] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 15. p. 414. [a] Pind. Olymp. 3. v. 77. Schol. ibid. [b] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1. c. 72. Pind. lib. 7. c. 32. t. i. p. 394.

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tury, added our informants, a still more interesting scene was witnessed by our fathers.

Diagoras of Rhodes, who to his illustrious birth had added the glory of a victory gained at our games,[c] brought two of his sons hither, who became candidates and merited the crown.[d] No sooner did they receive it than they placed it on the head of their father, and, lifting him on their shoulders, bore him in triumph through the midst of the spectators, who threw flowers over him, some of them exclaiming, Die, Diagoras; for thou hast nothing more to wish.[e] The old man, overcome by his happiness, expired in the sight of the assembly, impressed with the liveliest emotions at the scene, and bathed with the tears of his children who pressed him in their arms.[f]

These commendations bestowed on the victors are sometimes disturbed, or rather honoured by the impotent rage of envy. On some occasions I heard hisses mingled with the public acclamations, proceeding from individuals born in the cities hostile to those of which the conquerors were natives.[g]

These tokens of jealousy I saw succeeded by other not less remarkable instances, of generosity or adulation. Some of the successful candidates at the horse and chariot races had other persons proclaimed in their stead, whose favour they were courting, or for

[c] Pind. Olymp. 7. [d] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 7. p. 469. [e] Cicer. Tuscul. lib. 1. c. 47. t. ii. p. 272. Plut. in Pelop. t. i. p. 297. [f] Aul. Gell. lib. 3. cap. 15. [g] Plut. Lacon. Apopth. t. ii. p. 230.

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whom they entertained a friendship.[h] The athletæ who triumph at the other games, having it not in their power to transfer that honour, find means however to gratify their avarice, by calling themselves natives of a city from which they have received presents[i] at the time of proclamation, thus risking the danger of banishment from their real country, whose glory they have sacrificed.[k] Dionysius, king of Syracuse, who found it easier to render his capital illustrious than to bestow on it happiness, more than once sent emissaries to Olympia, to engage the victors at the games to declare themselves Syracusans: but as honour is not to be purchased with money, it was as disgraceful for him to have corrupted some, as to have been unable to corrupt others.

Bribery is often employed to get rid of a formidable competitor, to induce him to yield the victory by not exerting his strength,[m] or to tempt the integrity of the judges; but the athletæ convicted of these intrigues are scourged with rods,[n] or sentenced to heavy penalties. We see at Olympia many brazen statues of Jupiter, erected with the sums arising from these fines. The nature of the offence and the names of the delinquents are perpetuated by inscriptions.[o]

On the day of their coronation, the victors offered up sacrifices by way of thanksgiving.[p] They were en-

[h] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 103. [i] Pausan. lib. 6. c. 459 et 481. [k] Id. ibid. p. 497. [l] Id. ibid. p. 455. [m] Id. lib. 5. c. 21. p. 430 et 434. [n] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 50. Pausan. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 454. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 192. [o] Pausan. lic. 5. c. 21. p. 430. [p] Schol. Pind. in Olymp. 5. p. 56.

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rolled in the public archives of the Eleans,[q] and magnificently entertained in one of the halls of the prytaneum.[r] The following days they themselves gave entertainments, the pleasure of which was heightened by music and dancing.[s] Poetry was next employed to immortalize their fame, and sculpture to represent them in marble or in brass, some in the very attitude in which they had gained the victory.[t]

According to ancient custom, these men, already loaded with honours on the scene of action, return into their country with all the pageantry of triumph,[u] preceded and followed by a numerous train clothed in a purple robe,[x] and sometimes enter the city in a chariot drawn by two or four horses,[y] through a breach made in the walls.[z] A native of Agrigentum in Sicily, named Exænetus,[a] is recorded to have appeared in that city in a magnificent chariot, followed by a great number of others, among which were three hundred, each of them drawn by two white horses.

In certain places the victors have a competent subsistence furnished them by the public treasury;[b] in others they are exempt from all taxes: at Lace-

[q] Pausan. ibid. p. 432 et 466. [r] Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 416. [s] Pind. Olymp. 9. v. 6; Olymp. 10. v. 92. Schol. p. 116. Athen. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 3. Plut. in Alcib. t. i. p. 196. [t] Pausan. ibid. c. 27. p. 450; lib. 6. c. 13. p. 843. Nep. in Chabr. c. 12. Fabr. Agon. lib. 2. c. 20. [u] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. i. p. 274. [x] Aristoph. in Nub. v. 70. Schol. Theocr. in Idyl. 2. v. 74. [y] Vitr. Præf. lib. 9. p. 173. Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 204. [z] Plut. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 639. [a] Diod. Sic. lib. 13. p. 204. [b] Timocl. ap. Athen. lib. 6. c. 8. p. 237. Diog. Laërt. in Solon. lib. 1. § 55. Plut. in Aristid. t. i. p. 335.

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dæmon they have the honour to combat near the king[c] in the day of battle; almost every where they have precedency at the local games;[d] and the title of Olympic victor, added to their names, ensures them an attention and respect which constitute the happiness of their future lives.[e]

Some, in gratitude for the distinctions they have received, recompense the horses which have procured them; they secure to them a comfortable old age, give them an honourable burial,[f] and sometimes even erect pyramids over their graves.[g]

[c] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 53. Id. Sympos. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 639. [d] Xenoph. ap. Athen. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 414. [e] Plat. de Rep. lib. 5. t. ii. p. 465 et 466. [f] Herodot. lib. 6. c. 103. Plut. in Caton. t. i. p. 339. Ælian. de Animal. lib. 12. c. 10. [g] Plin. lib. 8. c. 42.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

Continuation of the Journey into Elis.—Xenophon at Scillus.

XENOPHON had a house at Scillus, a small town situate at the distance of twenty stadia from Olympia.[a]* The troubles of Pelopennesus had once obliged him to leave it,[b] and go to reside at Corinth, where I found him on my arrival in Greece.† As soon as these were appeased, he returned to Scillus;‡ and, on the day after the games, we visited him, in company with his son Diodorus, who had never quitted us during the whole time that these had lasted.

The estate which Xenophon possessed here was considerable. He was indebted for one part of it to the generosity of the Lacedæmonians,[c] and he had purchased the other to consecrate it to Diana, and thus acquit himself of a vow which he had made when returning from Persia. He reserved the tenth of its produce for the maintenance of a temple which he had erected to that goddess, and to defray the expense of a sumptuous sacrifice which he offered every year.[d]

Near the temple is an orchard which produces various kinds of fruits. The Selinus, a small river

[a] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. * About three quarters of a league. [b] Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. p. 53. † See Chap. IX. of this work. ‡ See Note XXIII. at the end of the volume. [c] Pausan. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 388. Dinarch. ap. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. § 52. [d] Xen. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350.

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abounding with fish, slowly rolls its limpid waters at the foot of a fertile hill, and through meadows in which the animals destined to sacrifice feed undisturbed. Within and without the sacred grounds are woods distributed in the plain or on the mountains, which are the retreats of roebucks, stags, and wild boars.[e]

In this delightful abode it was that Xenophon composed the greater part of his works,[f] and for a number of years dedicated his days to the study of philosophy, to benevolence, agriculture, the chase, and those exercises which best maintain the freedom of the mind, and preserve the health of the body. His first care was to procure us amusements suitable to our age, and those which the country offers to a more advanced period of life. He showed us his horses, his plantations, and gave us a particular account of his household economy; and we every where perceived that he had reduced to practice the precepts which he has given in his different works.[g] At other times he advised us to take the diversion of the chase, which he never ceased to recommend to young persons as the exercise most proper to accustom them early to the labours and fatigues of war.[h]

His son Diodorus frequently took us with him to catch quails, partridges, and various other kinds of birds.[i] We carried with us some of the same species,

[e] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. Pausan. lib. 5. c. 6. p. 388. [f] Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 52. [g] Xen. p. 818 et 932. [h] Id. de Venat. p. 974 et 995. [i] Id. Memorab. p. 784.

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which we took out of their cages, and fastened in the middle of the nets; and these, by their chirping and cries, drew others of the same kind into the snare, where they lost either their lives or their liberty.[k]

These sports were introductory to others more animated and more varied. Diodorus had several packs of hounds; one trained to course the hare, another the stag, and a third, of the Laconian or Locrian breed, the wild boar.[l] He knew all the dogs of every pack by their names,* and was acquainted with all their defects and good qualities.[m] No person better understood the tactics of this species of war, and he conversed on the subject with as much accuracy as his father had written on it.[n] The following is the manner in which the hare was hunted.

Nets of different sizes were placed in the paths and secret passages by which the animal might escape.[o] We went out to the chase in a light dress, and with staves in our hands.[p] The huntsmen let loose one of the dogs, and, as soon as he perceived he had taken the scent, uncoupled the others, and presently the hare was roused. At this moment every object concurred to interest and animate us; the cries of the dogs, the shouts of the huntsmen who encouraged them,[q] and the windings and stratagems of the

[k] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1083. Schol. ibid. [l] Xen. de Venat. p. 991. * The ancients were careful to give to their dogs names that were very short, and commonly consisting of two syllables; such as Thymos, Lochos, Phylax, Phonex, Bremon, Psyche, Hebe, &c. (Xen. ibid. p. 987. [m] Id. ibid. p. 987 et 996. [n] Id. ibid. p. 972. [o] Id. ibid. p. 983. [p] Id. ibid. p. 984. [q] Id. ibid. p. 985.

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hare, which we saw in the twinkling of an eye cross the plains and hills, leap ditches, plunge down precipices, appear and disappear several times, and at length end his career by entangling himself in one of the nets placed to intercept him. A man stationed near the spot seized the prey, and held it up to the huntsmen, to whom he signified their victory both by his shouts and gestures.[r] In the joy of triumph we began a new chace, and hunted several more hares in the course of the day,[s] some of which escaped from us by swimming over the river Selinus.[t]

We soon after engaged in a more noisy and dangerous kind of hunting, in consequence of the sacrifice which Xenophon offered every year to Diana.[u] During the days which he dedicated to this festivity, all his neighbours, both men and women, repaired to Scillus. He welcomed his friends to his own house:[x] the treasures of the temple were expended to provide for the remainder of the guests.[y] They were furnished with wine, bread, meal, fruits, and a part of the victims which were sacrificed. Among them likewise were distributed the wild boars, stags, and deer, which had been killed in hunting, by the youth of the neighbouring country, who, to participate in the various sports, had resorted to Scillus some days before the festival.[z]

For the chase of the wild boar we were provided with spears, javelins, and large nets. The footsteps

[r] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 984. [s] Id. ibid. p. 986. [t] Id. ibid. p. 980. [u] Id. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. [x] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 52. [y] Xenoph. Exped. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 350. [z] Id. ibid.

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of the animal newly imprinted on the ground, the mark of his teeth in the bark of trees, and other indications of the way that he had taken, led us to a very thick wood.[a] We let loose a Laconian dog, who followed the traces, and quickly arrived at the haunt of the beast. He immediately opened and informed us of the discovery. We directly drew him off, prepared nets to prevent the escape of the animal, and took our several posts. The boar endeavoured to break out on my side. Far from entangling himself in the net, he stopped, and for some minutes sustained the charge of the whole pack, who made the forest resound with their barking, and that of the hunters, who assailed him with darts and stones. A moment after he rushed furiously on Moschion, who waited for him with firmness, intending to pierce him; but the spear, glancing on the shoulder of the animal, slipped from the hands of the hunter, who immediately had recourse to the expedient of falling flat with his face to the ground.[b]

I imagined his destruction inevitable. The boar, finding no hold by which he could raise him, trampled him under his feet; when he perceived Diodorus, who had hastened to the assistance of his companion. Immediately he flew on this new enemy, who, more dexterous or more fortunate than Moschion, pierced him with his spear at the joint of the shoulder. We now witnessed a terrifying proof of the ferocity of this animal. The boar, though mortally wounded,

[a] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 992. [b] Id. ibid. p. 993.

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continued to rush furiously on Diodorus, and staked himself on the spear quite up to the guard.[c] Several of our dogs were killed or wounded in this action, though fewer than in a second, in which the boar maintained the fight during a whole day. Other wild boars, chased by dogs, fell into pitfalls, which had been covered with branches of trees.[d]

On the following days stags were killed in the same manner;[e] we wounded several others, and our dogs fatigued so much, that they would stand still within reach of our javelins, and throw themselves sometimes into ponds, and sometimes into the sea.[f]

During the whole time that these huntings lasted, the conversation turned only on the sports in which we were engaged. Our companions described to us the various methods employed in different countries to take lions, panthers, bears, and other wild beasts. We are told, that in some places they mix poison with the stagnant waters and the food with which these creatures assuage their hunger and thirst. In others, horsemen form a circle during the night round the animal, and attack him at the break of day, often at the risk of their lives. In others they dig a wide and deep pit, leaving only a kind of pillar of earth, to which they fasten a she goat, and place around it an impenetrable palisade. The wild beast, brought thither by the cries of the goat, leaps the barrier, and falls into the pit, from which he is unable to extricate himself.[g]

[c] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 993. [d] Id. ibid. p. 994. [e] Id. ibid. p. 990. [f] Id. ibid. p. 991. [g] Xenoph. de Venat. p. 995.

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We were likewise told, that, in a certain district of Thrace, a kind of partnership has been formed between the hawks and the inhabitants; that the former pursue the small birds, and force them to alight on the ground, where the latter kill them with sticks, or take them in nets, and divide their prey with their associates.[h] I doubt the fact; but, were it true, it would not be the first time that irreconcileable enemies have united to deprive the weak of all resource.

As nothing is so pleasing and instructive as to study a great man in his retirement, we passed a part of the day in conversing with Xenophon, in listening to him, questioning him, and following him through every circumstance of his private life. We found in his conversation all that mildness and elegance which are so conspicuous in his writings. He possessed at once the courage necessary for affairs of moment, and that requisite for things of lesser consequence, a much rarer and more necessary virtue. The former was in him an unshaken fortitude, and the latter an invincible patience.

Some years before, his resolution had been put to the severest proof that a heart of sensibility can experience. Gryllus, his eldest son, who served in the Athenian cavalry, was killed at the battle of Mantinea. The news of his death was brought to Xenophon, at the moment when, surrounded by his friends and domestics, he was offering a sacrifice.

[h] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. cap. 36. t. i. p. 940. Ælian de Nat. Anim. lib. 2. cap. 42.

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In the midst of the ceremonies, a confused and plaintive murmur was heard, and the courier approached. The Thebans, said he, have conquered, and Gryllus ——. A flood of tears prevented him from proceeding. How! is he dead? said the unhappy father, taking off the crown from his brow. After having performed the bravest actions, and lamented by the whole army, replied the messenger. At these words Xenophon resumed his crown, and finished the sacrifice.[i] I one day said something to him concerning his loss; but he only answered, Alas! I knew that he was mortal;[k] and immediately turned the discourse to some other subject.

On another occasion we inquired of him in what manner he first became acquainted with Socrates. I was very young, said he, when I met him in an extremely narrow street in Athens. He stopped the way with his staff, and asked me where the necessaries of life were to be bought. I replied, in the market. But where, continued he, may one learn to become a good and virtuous man? Perceiving that I hesitated, he added, Follow me, and I will teach you.[l] I followed him, and from that time never left him till I went into the army of Cyrus. On my return, I learned that the Athenians had put to death the most just of men. I had no other consolation but to transmit in my writings the proofs of his innocence to the nations of Greece, and perhaps

[i] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 54. Ælian Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 3 Stob. Serm. 7. p. 90. [k] Val. Max. lib. 5. cap. 10. extern. No. 2. [l] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 48.

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also to posterity. At present I know no greater pleasure than recalling him to mind, and meditating on his virtues.

As we all sincerely participated in the lively and affectionate esteem which he expressed for this great man, Xenophon afterwards entered into a circumstantial account of the system of life which Socrates had embraced, and explained to us his doctrine, such as it really was, confined entirely to morals,[m] without any mixture of foreign dogmas, or those physical and metaphysical discussions which Plato has attributed to his master.[n] How was it possible that I should blame Plato, for whom I shall ever preserve the most profound veneration? Yet must it be confessed, that the real opinions of Socrates are less to be studied in his Dialogues than in those of Xenophon. In the course of this work I shall endeavour to explain what these opinions were; in which attempt I shall be principally indebted to the information I derived from the conversations which I had with Xenophon at Scillus.

With a mind adorned with every kind of useful knowledge, and long habituated to reflection, Xenophon wrote to render men better by his instructions; and so great was his love of truth, that he did not treat the subject of politics till he had carefully investigated the nature of governments; nor publish his histories, but to relate facts, to the greater part

[m] Aristot. Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 6. t. ii. p. 848. [n] Id. ibid. p. 847. Theopomp. ap. Athen. lib. 2. p. 508. Diogen. Laërt. lib. 3. § 35. Bruck. Histor. Philos. t. i. p. 11 et 697. Moshem in Cudw. t. i. p. 241 et 600.

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of which he had been an eye-witness. He did not write on the military art, until after he had both served and commanded with the greatest distinction; nor on morals, till he had practised the lessons which he gave to others.

I have known few philosophers so virtuous, and few men so amiable. With what a graceful and obliging affability did he reply to all our questions! Diodorus, Philotas, and myself were one day walking on the banks of the Selinus, and had entered into a warm dispute on the tyranny of the passions. They affirmed that love itself could not enslave us against our will. I maintained the contrary. Xenophon happened to join the company, and we immediately agreed to refer the question to his decision; upon which he related to us the following history.

After the battle which the great Cyrus gained against the Assyrians, the plunder was divided, and a superb tent, and a female captive who surpassed all the others in beauty, reserved for that prince. This captive was Panthea, queen of Susiana.° Abradates her husband was then in Bactriana, whither he had gone to bring up some succours to the Assyrian army.

Cyrus refused to see the princess, and confided her to the custody of a young Median nobleman, named Araspes, who had been educated with him. Araspes described the humiliating situation in which she was found. She was, said he, in her tent, sitting

° Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 114.

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on the ground, surrounded by her women, in the habit of a slave, with her head bowed down and covered with a veil. We desired her to arise, and all her attendants rose at the same time. One of us wishing to comfort her, said to her: We know that your husband deserved your love by his illustrious qualities; but Cyrus, to whom you are destined, is the most accomplished prince of the East.[p] At these words she tore her veil, and her sighs and tears, and the cries of her women, painted in the liveliest manner her distressful situation. We had then more time to observe her, and are enabled to assure you, that Asia has never produced a beauty comparable to her: but of this you will soon judge for yourself.

No, said Cyrus, what you have said is an additional motive why I should avoid her. Were I to see her once, I should wish to see her again, and should be in danger of forgetting in her company the care of my fame and future conquests. And can you really believe, then, replied the young Median, that beauty exercises her power with so imperious a sway as to force us to neglect our duty in despite of ourselves? Why then does she not equally tyrannize over all hearts? Why do we not sigh with incestuous passion for those from whom we have received, or to whom we have given, life? Because the laws prohibit us. The laws, therefore, are more powerful than love. But were they to command us to be insensible to hunger and thirst, to cold and heat,

[p] Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 115.

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they would be universally disobeyed. Nature, therefore, is more powerful than the laws. Love, in like manner, would be irresistible, if it were invincible, in its own nature. We, therefore, do not love but when our will permits us to love.[q]

If we could impose on ourselves this yoke at will, replied Cyrus, at will might we throw it off; yet have I seen lovers shed tears of anguish at the loss of their liberty, and vainly shake those chains which they were unable either to break or to support.

These, replied the young man, were feeble and inert minds, who imputed to the power of love what was merely the consequence of their own weakness: generous souls are ever able to subject their passions to their duty.

Araspes, Araspes, said Cyrus, as he left him, beware how you see the princess too often.[r]

To the beauties of her person, Panthea added qualities which her sorrows and misfortunes rendered still more attractive. Araspes thought it his duty to bestow on her every care and attention, and, without perceiving it, continually increased his assiduity towards her; and as she could not but return his kindness by civilities, he mistook the emotions of gratitude for the wish to please,[s] and soon conceived for her so ungovernable a passion, that he could no longer refrain from declaring it. She rejected without hesitation the offer of his love, but did not in-

[q] Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 5. p. 116. [r] Id. ibid. p. 117. [s] Id. ibid.

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form Cyrus of what had passed, till Araspes threatened to proceed to the last extremities.[t]

Cyrus then caused it to be signified to his favourite, that he expected he should only employ the methods of persuasion, and by no means have recourse to violence. This intimation was a thunderstroke to Araspes. He blushed at the remembrance of his conduct; and the fear of having displeased his master so overwhelmed him with shame and grief, that Cyrus, moved at his situation, sent for him into his presence. Why, said he, when he came, do you fear to approach me? I know too well that Love at once makes his sport of the wisdom of men and the power of the gods! I myself am only able by avoiding him to escape his tyranny. I cannot impute to you a crime of which I was the first occasion; for I, by confiding the princess to your care, exposed you to a danger superior to your strength. Oh, my sovereign! exclaimed the young Median, while my enemies triumph over me, while my friends in consternation advise me to shun your anger, while all around me conspire to complete my ruin, do you offer me consolation? Oh, Cyrus! you are ever the same! ever are you indulgent to frailties in which you do not participate; and you pardon because you know mankind.

Let us profit, replied Cyrus, by circumstances. I wish to be informed of the forces and projects of my enemies. Depart for their camp; your pretended flight will have all the appearance of a real disgrace,

t Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 153.

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and you will obtain their confidence. I fly to obey your commands, replied Araspes; too happy to expiate my fault by so trivial a service. But can you, answered Cyrus, bear to absent yourself from the beautiful Panthea?[u] I confess, replied the young Median, that my heart is rent with the most cruel pangs; and I now feel but too forcibly that we have within us two souls, by one of which we are incessantly urged to evil, while the other inclines us to good. I have hitherto been under the dominion of the former; but strengthened by your assistance, the latter shall soon triumph over its rival.[x] Araspes, having then received secret instructions, departed for the army of the Assyrians.

Xenophon, having proceeded thus far in his narrative, remained silent; at which we appeared surprised. Is not the question then determined? said he. Yes, replied Philotas; but the story is not concluded, and that now engages our attention much more than the question. Xenophon smiled, and continued as follows:

Panthea having been informed of the departure of Araspes, caused it to be signified to Cyrus, that she was able to procure him a more faithful, and perhaps a more useful friend than that young favourite. The friend she meant was her husband Abradates, whom she proposed to detach from the service of the king of Assyria, with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. Cyrus having consented to

[u] Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 154. [x] Id. ibid.

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this negociation, Abradates arrived in the camp of the Persians, at the head of two thousand horse; and Cyrus immediately caused him to be conducted to the apartment of Panthea,[y] who, with that confusion of ideas and feelings which a felicity long denied and almost unexpected occasions, related to him the history of her captivity, her sufferings, the attempts of Araspes, and the generosity of Cyrus. Her husband, impatient to express his gratitude, ran instantly to the Persian prince, and grasping his hand, exclaimed: Oh, Cyrus! for all that I owe you, I can only offer my friendship, my services, and my soldiers; but be well assured, whatever may be your designs, Abradates will always exert his utmost powers to support and render them successful. Cyrus received his offers with transport, and they immediately concerted together the dispositions of the approaching battle.[z]

The troops of the Assyrians, Lydians, and a great part of Asia, were within sight of the army of Cyrus. Abradates was appointed to attack the formidable phalanx of the Egyptians. This dangerous post had been assigned him by lot: he had himself solicited it, but the other generals had at first refused to resign it to him.[a]

When he was about to mount his chariot, Panthea came to present him with the arms which she had privately caused to be made, and on which were seen the jewels that had sometimes adorned her person. "You have then sacrificed to me even your orna-

[y] Xenoph. Inst. Cyr. lib. 6. 155. [z] Id. ibid. [a] Id. ibid. p. 168.

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ments," said the prince affectionately. "Alas!" replied she, "I wish no other ornament than that you should this day appear to all beholders as you constantly appear to myself." Thus saying, she put on him his resplendent armour, while her eyes involuntarily shed tears, which she anxiously endeavoured to conceal.[b]

When she saw him take the reins, she requested the attendants to step aside, and thus addressed him: "If ever a wife loved her husband a thousand times more than herself, that wife is doubtless yours; and my conduct has surely been a better proof of this than my words; yet, notwithstanding the ardour of my passion, I would rather choose, and I swear by the tender bonds by which we are united, I would rather choose to expire with you in the bosom of honour, than to live with a husband in whose shame I must participate. Remember the obligations we have to Cyrus; remember that I was a captive, and that he gave me liberty; that I was exposed to insult, and that he defended me; remember, in fine, that I have deprived him of his friend; and that, relying on my word, he has believed that he shall find one more brave, and doubtless more faithful, in my beloved Abradates."[c]

The prince, delighted to hear these words, stretched forth his hand on the head of his spouse, and lifting his eyes to heaven: "Gracious gods!" cried he, "grant that I may this day shew myself

[b] Xenoph. Inst. lib. 6. p. 169. [c] Id. ibid.

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worthy to be the friend of Cyrus; and, above all, worthy to be the husband of Panthea." Immediately he leaped into his chariot, to which the anxious princess had only time to apply her trembling lips. In the agitation of her mind she followed him with hasty steps along the plain, till Abradates perceiving her, conjured her to retire, and arm herself with fortitude. Her eunuchs and women then approached, and drew her from the eyes of the multitude, which, constantly fixed on her, had been unable to pay the least attention either to the beauty of Abradates, or the magnificence of his dress and armour.[d]

The battle was fought near the river Pactolus: the army of Crœsus was entirely defeated, the vast empire of the Lydians overturned in a moment, and that of the Persians raised on its ruins.

The day following the victory, Cyrus, astonished that he had not seen Abradates, inquired after him with solicitude,[e] and was informed by one of his officers, that, deserted almost in the beginning of the action by a part of his troops, he had nevertheless attacked the Egyptian phalanx with the greatest bravery; that he had been killed, after having seen all his friends fall around him; and that Panthea had caused his body to be conveyed to the banks of the Pactolus, and was then employed in erecting a tomb.

Cyrus, overwhelmed with grief, immediately gave orders that the necessary preparatives for the funeral

[d] Xenoph. Instit. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 170. [e] Id. lib. 7. p. 184.

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of the hero should be conveyed to that place. He himself preceded them; and, when he arrived, beheld the unhappy Panthea seated on the ground, near the bloody corpse of her husband. His eyes overflowed with tears. He attempted to grasp that hand which had fought for him: it remained in his own, for the keen blade had separated it from the body in the bloody conflict. The emotion of Cyrus redoubled, and Panthea uttered the most piercing cries. She again took the hand; and, after having covered it with a flood of tears and ardent kisses, endeavoured to rejoin it to the arm; and at length pronounced these words, which expired on her lips: "Alas! Cyrus, you see the calamity by which I am persecuted, and why do you wish to be a witness of it? For me, for you, has he sacrificed his life. Wretch that I was, I wished he should merit your esteem; and, too obedient to my counsel, he regarded less his own safety than your service! He has died gloriously, I know; but he is dead, and I yet live.

Cyrus, after having wept a while in silence, replied: "Victory has crowned his life, and his end could not be more glorious. Accept these ornaments for his tomb, and these victims to be immolated in his honour. I will take care to erect a monument which shall eternize his memory. You also I never will forsake nor forget; I too much respect your virtues and your misfortunes; only point out to me the place to which you would wish to be conducted."

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Panthea, having assured him that of this he should soon be informed, and Cyrus having taken his leave, commanded her eunuchs to retire, and sent for a woman who had attended her from her earliest years, to whom she thus spoke: "Be careful, as soon as my eyes are closed, to cover my body, and that of my husband with the same veil." The slave endeavoured to divert her from her purpose by her intreaties; but as these only served to increase her too just affliction, she sat down, shedding a flood of tears by the side of her mistress. Panthea then seized a poniard, and plunged it into her breast; and, when expiring, still possessed sufficient strength to lay her head on the bosom of her husband.[f]

Her women and all her attendants instantly uttered the most piercing cries of grief and despair. Three of her eunuchs sacrificed themselves to the manes of their mistress; and Cyrus, who had hastened to the place at the first report of this new calamity, again wept over the amiable pair, and caused a tomb to be erected for them, in which their ashes were mingled.[g]

[f] Xen. Instit. Cyr. lib. 7. p. 185. [g] Id. ibid. p. 186.

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CHAPTER XL.

*Tour of Messenia.**

We left Scillus, and, after having crossed Triphylia, arrived on the banks of the Neda, which separates Elis from Messenia.[h]

As we intended to make the tour of the coasts of the latter province, we embarked at the port of Cyparissia, and the next day landed at Pylos, situate under Mount Ægaleus.[i] Vessels find a safe retreat in the road near this town, which is almost entirely shut in by the island Sphacteria.[k] The environs present on all sides only woods, steep rocks, a barren soil, and an undisturbed solitude.[l] The Lacedæmonians, who were in possession of Messenia during the Peloponnesian war, had entirely neglected Pylos; but the Athenians, having made themselves masters of it, immediately fortified it, and repulsed both by sea and land the troops of Lacedæmon and her allies. From that time this city, like all other places in which men have massacred each other, has excited the curiosity of travellers.[m]

We were shown a statue of Victory, which had

* See Map of Messenia. [h] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 20. p. 327. Strab. lib. 8. p. 348. [i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 359. [k] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 8. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 113. [l] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 8. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 36. p. 372. [m] Id. ibid.

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been left here by the Athenians;[n] and were told that the sage Nestor had reigned over this country. It was in vain for us to reply, that, according to Homer, he reigned in Triphylia;[o] we received no other answer than by being shown the house of that prince, his portrait, and the cave in which he kept his oxen.[p] We were still disposed to dispute the fact, but were soon convinced that both nations and individuals, proud of their claims to an illustrious origin, are seldom pleased that their title to it should be doubted.

Continuing to sail along the coast to the bottom of the Gulf of Messenia, we saw at Mothone* a well, the water of which, naturally impregnated with particles of pitch, has the smell and colour of balm of Cyzicus.[q] At Colonides we remarked that the inhabitants, though they are strangers both to the manners and language of the Athenians, pretend to be descended from that people, because there is at Athens an eminence named Colonos.[r] Further on we saw a temple of Apollo, to which sick persons come to seek, and believe that they find a cure.[s] Still further, we came to the city of Corone,† lately built by order of Epaminondas;[t] and, lastly, we arrived at the mouth of the river Pamisus, which we entered with all our sails set, as ships may proceed up it to the distance of ten stadia.[u]

This river is the largest in Peloponnesus, though

[n] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 36. p. 372. [o] Strab. lib. 8. p. 350. [p] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 36. p. 371. * Now *Modon*. [q] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 35. p. 369. [r] Id. ibid. p. 365. [s] Id. ibid. † Now *Coron*. [t] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 34. p. 365. [u] Id. ibid. p. 363.

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from its source to the sea the distance is not more than one hundred stadia.[x] * Its course is short, but is completed with distinction. It suggests the idea of a short and happy life. Its pure waters seem only to flow for the benefit of every object which it approaches. The best sea-fish delight in it in all seasons, and at the return of spring hasten to ascend it to deposit their spawn.[y]

While we were landing we saw several vessels, which appeared to us of a foreign construction, and which made way both with sails and oars. They came up close to the shore, and immediately a number of persons, of all ages and both sexes, leaped from them on the beach, threw themselves prostrate on the ground, and exclaimed: "A thousand and a thousand times blessed be the day that restores thee to our wishes; we water thee with our tears, O beloved land, which our fathers possessed! O sacred earth, which containest the ashes of our fathers!" I approached an aged man named Xenocles, who appeared to be the leader of this multitude, and asked him who they were, and whence they came. You behold, replied he, the descendants of those Messenians whom the cruelty of the Lacedæmonians formerly forced to abandon their country, and who, under the conduct of Comon, one of my ancestors, sought refuge in the extremities of Libya, in a country which has no intercourse with the nations of Greece. We were long ignorant

[x] Strab. lib. 8. p. 361. * About three leagues and three quarters. [y] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 34. p. 363.

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that Epaminondas had, about fifteen years since, restored liberty to Messenia, and recalled its ancient inhabitants.[a] When we were informed of it, our return was prevented by insurmountable obstacles; and afterwards the death of Epaminondas occasioned a still longer delay, but we are at length arrived to enjoy the fruit of his beneficence.

We joined these strangers, and, after having traversed fertile plains, arrived at Messene, situate, like Corinth, at the foot of a mountain, and become, like that city, one of the bulwarks of Peloponnesus.[a]

The walls of Messene, built of hewn stone, crowned with battlements, and flanked with towers,* are stronger and higher than those of Byzantium, Rhodes, and the other cities of Greece.[b] They include within their circuit Mount Ithome. Within the city we found a large public square, or forum, ornamented with public temples, statues, and a plentiful fountain. On every side we beheld beautiful edifices; and from the first essays we may easily judge of the magnificence which Messene will hereafter display.[c]

The new inhabitants were received with the utmost respect, and the most eager welcome. The next day they went to offer up their homage in the

[a] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 342. [a] Polyb. lib. 7. p. 505. Strab. lib. 8. p. 361. * Thirty-eight of these towers were still remaining fifty years ago; the Abbé Fourmont saw them (Mem de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hist. p. 355.) [b] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 31. p. 356. [c] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. vii. Hist. p. 355.

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temple of Jupiter, which stands on the summit of the mountain,[d] and in the middle of a citadel, that unites the strength supplied by art to the advantages of situation.

The mountain is one of the loftiest,[e] and the temple one of the most ancient in the Peloponnesus.[f] There it was, as tradition relates, that the nymphs nurtured Jupiter in his infancy. The statue of that god, the work of Ageladas, is deposited in the house of a priest, who only exercises the functions of the priesthood, to which he is appointed by way of election,[g] during the space of one year. The priest at the time we were there was named Celenus; he had passed the greater part of his life in Sicily.

On that same day was celebrated an annual festival in honour of Jupiter, which assembles the people of the neighbouring provinces. The sides of the mountain were covered with men and women, who eagerly pressed to gain the summit. We were present at the sacred ceremonies, and at the musical competitions, which had been instituted for a long series of ages.[h] The joy of the Messenians of Libya presented an affecting scene, the interest of which was increased by an unforeseen circumstance. Celenus, the priest of Jupiter, recognised a brother in the chief of these unfortunate families, and was unable to tear himself from his arms. They reminded each other of the fatal events by which they had formerly been separated. We passed some days

[d] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 33. p. 361. [e] Id. ibid. c. 9. p. 301.
[f] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 287. [g] Id. ibid. c. 33. p. 301. [h] Id. ibid.

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with these two respectable old men, and with many of their kindred and friends.

From the house of Celenus the eye may embrace the whole of Messenia, and follow its boundaries through a space of about eight hundred stadia.[i]* The prospect extends to the north over Arcadia and Elis; to the west and to the south, over the sea and the neighbouring islands; and to the east over a chain of mountains named Taygetus, which divide this country from that of Laconia. The eye at length reposes with pleasure on the rich landscape contained within these limits. We were shown, at different distances, fertile fields, intersected by hills and rivers, and covered with herds and young horses, which constitute the riches of the inhabitants.[k] From the small number of cultivators which we had seen, I could not refrain from remarking, that the population of the country did not appear to me to bear a due proportion to its fertility. That, replied Xenocles, is only to be imputed to those barbarians, the odious sight of whom is prevented by yon mountains. During four entire centuries the Lacedæmonians have ravaged Messenia, and left to the inhabitants, for their whole inheritance, war or exile, death or slavery.

We had but a slight knowledge of these calamitous revolutions; which Xenocles perceiving, sighed, and addressed himself to his son: Take your lyre, said

[i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 362. * Thirty leagues and a quarter.
[k] Euripid. et Tyr. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Pausan. lib. 4. p. 288 et 316. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615.

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he, and sing those three elegies in which my father immediately after our arrival in Libya, endeavoured to assuage his grief, and to eternise the memory of the woes our country has sustained.* The youth obeyed, and began as follows:

FIRST ELEGY.

On the first War of Messenia.†

Banished from Greece, strangers to other nations, we are only connected with mankind by the fruitless pity which they sometimes deign to bestow on our sufferings. Who could have foretold, that, after having so long wandered on the waves, we should arrive at the port of the Evesperidæ,[l] in a country which both nature and peace enrich with their most valuable gifts! Here the earth, largely repaying the vows of the labourer, renders back the seed confided to it, increased an hundred fold.[m] Tranquil rivers wind through the plain, near a valley shaded by laurels, myrtles, pomegranates, and trees of every species. [n] Beyond are burning sands, barbarous nations, and ferocious animals; yet we have nothing to fear, for among them are no Lacedæmonians.

The inhabitants of these delightful retreats, pitying our misfortunes, have generously offered us an asylum. Yet does grief consume our days, and our

* See note XXIV. at the end of the volume. † This war began in the year before Christ 743, and ended in the year 723 before the same æra. [l] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 26. p. 342. [m] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 198. [n] Scylac. Peripl. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i. p. 46. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 5. p. 249.

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feeble pleasures only render our regret more poignant. Alas! how many times, while wandering in these enchanting groves, have I felt my tears involuntarily flow at the remembrance of Messenia! Oh, happy banks of Pamisus, august temples, sacred groves, plains so often moistened by the blood of our ancestors, no, never can I forget you! But to you, ferocious Spartans, I swear, in the name of the fifty thousand Messenians whom you have dispersed over the earth, a hatred as implacable as your cruelty. I swear it in the name of their descendants, and in the name of all hearts of sensibility of every age and country.

Unfortunate survivors of so many heroes more unfortunate still, may my strains, imitating those of Tyrtæus and Archilochus, incessantly sound in your ears, like the trumpet which gives the signal to the warrior, like the thunder which disturbs the sleep of the coward! May they, night and day presenting to your eyes the menacing shades of your fathers, leave in your hearts a wound which shall bleed day and night!

The Messenians enjoyed, during many ages, an undisturbed tranquillity, in a country which sufficed to supply all their wants, and beneath the mild influences of a sky perpetually serene. They were free; they had wise laws, simple manners, kings who loved their people,° and joyous festivals to relax them after their labours.

° Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 3. p. 286.

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On a sudden the alliance by which they were united to the Lacedæmonians received a mortal wound. The two states mutually accused and irritated each other, and menaces succeeded to complaints. Ambition, till then enchained by the laws of Lycurgus, seized the moment to break his fetters, and, loudly calling injustice and violence to his aid, entered with these infernal attendants into the hearts of the Spartans, and incited them to swear on their altars never to lay down their arms till they had enslaved Messenia.[p] The destructive passion, elated with his first success, led them to one of the summits of Mount Taygetus, and, showing them the rich countries that lay before their eyes, introduced them into a fortified place which belonged to their ancient allies, and served as a barrier to the two states.[q]

At this news, our ancestors, unable to endure the insult, ran tumultuously to the palace of our kings. The sage Euphaes was then on the throne. He listened to the advice of the chiefs of the nation: he excited the ardent courage of the Messenians; but restrained it till it might be exerted with success.[r] Whole years were scarcely sufficient to inure to military discipline a people too long accustomed to the inert enjoyments of peace. In that interval he learned to see, without a murmur, his harvests destroyed by the Lacedæmonians, and to make himself several incursions into Laconia.

Twice the moment of vengeance appeared to ap-

[p] Justin. lib. 3. cap. 4. [q] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 5. p. 292.
[r] Id. ibid. cap. 7. p. 295.

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proach, twice the force of the two states met in the martial conflict; but victory dared not yet to decide the important dispute, and her indecision accelerated the ruin of the Messenians. Their army was enfeebled, from day to day, by the loss of a great number of warriors, by the garrisons which it was necessary to maintain in different places, by the desertion of the slaves, and by an epidemical disease, which began its dire ravages in a country formerly so flourishing.

In this extremity it was resolved to entrench the army on Mount Ithome,[s] and to consult the oracle of Delphi. The priests, and not the gods, dictated this barbarous answer. "The safety of Messenia depends on the sacrifice of a young maiden, drawn by lot, and chosen from the family on the throne."[t]

Ancient prejudices blinded all eyes to the atrocious crime of obeying such an injunction. The fatal urn was brought, and the lot condemned to death the daughter of Lyciscus; but her father, suddenly withdrawing her from every eye, fled with her to Lacedæmon. The warrior Aristodemus instantly advanced, and, in despite of the tender affection, which, from the bottom of his heart, pleaded against the deed, offered his own to the altar. She had been affianced to one of the favourites of the king, who ran to protect her. He maintained that her father could not dispose of his spouse without his consent. He went further: to save her he ventured even to

[s] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 9. p. 301. [t] Id. ibid. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 5. cap. 27. p. 223.

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cast an imputation on her innocence, and declared that the rites of Hymen had already been consummated. The horror of such a falsehood, the dread of dishonour, paternal love, the safety of his country, the sanctity of his word, a multitude of contrary emotions, agitated with such violence the mind of Aristodemus, that the stroke of despair was necessary to afford him relief. He seized a poniard, and his daughter fell dead at his feet, in view of the shuddering spectators. The priest, unsated with blood, exclaimed: "It was not piety but madness which guided the hand of the murderer: the gods require another victim." And another they shall have, replied the furious multitude, who immediately fell upon the wretched lover, whom they would have torn to pieces on the spot, had not the king appeased the tumult, and persuaded them that the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled.

Sparta still inflexibly adhered to her projects of conquests, which were manifested by her frequent hostilities and bloody conflicts. In one of these battles king Euphaes was slain, and Aristodemus succeeded to the throne.[u] In another, in which several of the states of Peloponnesus had joined the Messenians,[x] our enemies were defeated, and three hundred of them, taken with arms in their hands, were sacrificed on the altars of Jupiter.[y]

The siege of Ithome was nevertheless continued

[u] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 10. p. 304. [x] Id. ibid. cap. 11. p. 305.
[y] Myron. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 6. p. 294. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad. Gnet. t. i. p. 36. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 157. Plut. in Rom. t. i. p. 33. Mem de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. ii. p. 105.

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with vigour. Aristodemus prolonged the duration of it by his vigilance, his courage, the confidence his troops had in him, and the cruel recollection of the fate of his daughter. At length fallacious oracles and terrifying prodigies shook his constancy; he despaired of the safety of Messenia, and, having stabbed himself with his own sword, yielded his last breath on the tomb of his daughter.[z]

The besieged, however, still defended themselves for many months; but after having lost their generals and their bravest soldiers, seeing themselves without provisions, and without resource, they abandoned the place. Some retired to the neighbouring states, others remained in their ancient dwellings, where the conquerors forced them to swear to observe the following articles:

"You shall undertake nothing against our authority; you shall cultivate your lands, but you shall bring us every year the half of the produce; at the death of our kings and principal magistrates you shall, both men and women, wear mourning."[a] Such were the humiliating conditions which, after a war of twenty years, Lacedæmon imposed upon our ancestors.

SECOND ELEGY.

*On the Second War of Messenia.**

Again I resume the lyre, again I prepare to sing the glory of a hero who long fought on the ruins of

[z] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 311. [a] Tyrt. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. * This war began in the year before Christ 684, and ended in the year 668 before the same æra.

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his country. Ah! were it permitted to mortals to change the decrees of destiny, his victorious arms would doubtless have repaired the injuries of a destructive war, and a peace no less hateful.

What a peace! Just heaven! during the space of nine-and-thirty years it never ceased to render more heavy the iron yoke which bowed down the heads of the vanquished,[b] and to oppress them with every species of servitude. Subjected to toilsome labours, sinking beneath the weight of the tributes which they carried to Lacedæmon, forced to mourn at the funerals of their tyrants,[c] and not daring to utter their impotent hatred, they bequeathed to their children only woes to suffer and insults to revenge. So extreme were their miseries the aged had no longer any evil to fear in death, nor the youthful any good to hope in life.

Their eyes, continually fixed on the ground, were at length raised towards Aristomenes, who was descended from our ancient kings, and who, from his earliest youth had exhibited in his countenance, his words and actions, the distinguishing characteristics of an elevated mind. This prince, surrounded by ardent and impatient youths, whose courage he by turns inflamed or tempered, consulted the dispositions of the neighbouring states; and having learned that those of Argos and Arcadia were ready to furnish him with succours, called the Messenians to arms,[d]

[b] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 315. [c] Tyrt. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 313. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 300. [d] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 314.

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and from that moment the cries of oppression and the shouts of liberty were heard on all sides.

The first battle was fought in a village of Messenia. The victory was long doubtful; but Aristomenes so distinguished himself by his valour, that the army, with one voice, proclaimed him king on the field of battle: yet he refused an honour to which he had a legitimate title by his birth, and a still more just claim by his virtues.

Placed at the head of the troops, he wished to intimidate the Spartans by a single act of courage, and to deposit in the heart of their capital the pledge of the hatred he had vowed against them from his infancy. He repaired to Lacedæmon, and, having secretly entered the temple of Minerva, affixed to the wall a buckler, on which these words were inscribed: "Aristomenes has consecrated this to the goddess from the spoils of the Lacedæmonians."[e]

Sparta, conformably to the answer of the oracle of Delphi, then demanded of the Athenians a general to conduct the war. Athens, who feared to contribute to the aggrandisement of her rival, sent Tyrtæus,[f] an obscure poet, who compensated the disadvantages of his person and the meanness of his fortune by a sublime talent which the Athenians regarded as a species of phrenzy.[g]

Tyrtæus, called to the assistance of a warlike

[e] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 316. [f] Lycurg. in Leocrat. p. 162. Justin. lib. 3. cap. 5. Plut. in Cleom. p. 805. Pausan lib. 4. cap. 15. p. 316. Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. viii. p. 144. t. xiii. p. 284. [g] Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 43.

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nation which soon received him into the number of her citizens,[h] felt his soul expanded, and, following where his high destiny called, gave the reins to his genius. His ardent songs inspired the contempt of dangers and of death: he recited them to the troops; and the Lacedæmonians eagerly flew to the combat.[i]

The common colours of language would be inadequate to express the sanguinary rage which animated the two nations; new ones must be created. As when the celestial fires fall, and inflame the gulfs of Ætna; the volcano trembles and roars; it raises its boiling waves, pours them forth from its opening sides, and hurls them towards heaven, which it dares to brave: the thunderbolt, fraught with new fires, which it has drawn from the clouds, again descends, swifter than the lightning, strikes with reiterated shocks the summit of the mountain, and, after having shivered its smoking rocks, imposes silence on the abyss, and leaves it covered with ashes and eternal ruins: thus did Aristomenes at the head of the Messenian youth fall on the chosen bands of Sparta, commanded by their king Anaxander. His warriors, imitating the example of their chief, rushed on the foe like furious lions; but their utmost efforts were ineffectual against that immoveable phalanx, clad in iron, inflamed with the most violent passions, and whence the weapons of death incessantly flew on the assailants. Covered with blood and wounds,

[h] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 629. [i] Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 305. Horat. Art. Poet. v. 402.

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they despaired of victory; when Aristomenes, redoubling his exertions, and inspiring his soldiers with his own heroism, forced the brave Anaxander and his formidable warriors to give ground,[k] rapidly pierced the battalions of the enemy, put to flight some by his courage and others by his presence, dispersed, pursued, and left them in their camp, buried in unutterable consternation.

The women of Messenia celebrated this victory by songs which we still repeat;[l] their husbands raised their heads, and on their menacing brow the god of war imprinted terror and courage.

But now, O goddess of memory! it should be thine to declare how days so glorious were suddenly overshadowed by a thick and gloomy veil; but thy pictures almost always only present imperfect strokes and faded colours, as the waves of the ocean only cast on shore the shattered fragments of the vessel which was once the sovereign of the seas. Listen, young Messenians, to a testimony more faithful and more respectable. I saw him; I heard his voice; in the midst of that stormy night which dispersed the fleet I led into Lybia. Cast on an unknown shore, I exclaimed: "O earth! thou shalt at least serve us for a grave, and our bones shall not be trampled on by the Lacedæmonians."

At that fatal name, I saw torrents of flame and smoke pour forth from a funeral monument near me, while from the bottom of the tomb a shade arose, and

[k] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 318. [l] Id. ibid. p. 319.

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uttered these words: What mortal comes to trouble the repose of Aristomenes, and to rekindle in his ashes the hatred he still retains against a barbarous nation? It is a Messenian, replied I with transport. It is Comon, the heir of a family formerly united with yours. O Aristomenes! O greatest of mortals! is it then permitted me to see and hear thee? Oh, ye gods! I bless you, for the first time in my life, for having brought to Rhodes the unfortunate Comon. My son, replied the hero, thou shalt bless them during thy whole life. They have declared to me thy arrival, and have granted me permission to reveal to thee the secrets of their high wisdom. The time approaches, when, like the luminary of day, whose glorious beams have dispersed the envious clouds, Messenia shall again appear on the stage of the world with new-born lustre. Heaven, by its secret counsels, shall guide the hero who is to effect this prodigy, and thou shalt be informed of the time when my prediction is to be accomplished.[m] Farewell! thou mayest depart. Thy companions await thee in Libya; bear to them the momentous tidings.

Stop, generous shade, cried I instantly; deign to add to hopes so delicious, consolation still more delightful. Our fathers were unfortunate; it is therefore easy to believe them culpable. Time has destroyed the proofs of their innocence, and the surrounding nations propagate suspicions derogatory to our honour. Aristomenes betrayed, wandering

[m] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 342 et 343; c. 32. p. 359.

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from city to city, and dying alone in the island of Rhodes, seems to fix a stigma on the Messenians.

Go, depart, fly, my son! replied the hero, raising his voice; declare to all the earth that the valour of your fathers, was more ardent than the fires of the dog-star, and their virtues more pure than the light of heaven; and if men are yet susceptible of pity, force tears from them by the recital of our misfortunes. Listen to me.

Sparta could not support the shame of her defeat. She said to her warriors, Avenge me; to her slaves, Protect me;[n] to a slave still more vile than her own, and whose head was adorned with a diadem, Betray thy allies.[o] This was Aristocrates, who reigned over the powerful nation of the Arcadians, and had joined his troops to ours.

The two armies advanced as two thunder-clouds, approach to dispute the empire of the air. At the sight of their conquerors our enemies vainly sought in their hearts some remains of courage, while in their disturbed eyes was depicted the sordid desire of life. Tyrtæus then presented himself to the soldiers with the confidence and authority of a man on whom the safety of his country depends. He successively displayed before them[p] the most lively and animated images; that of a hero who has repulsed his enemy; the intermingled shouts of joy and love which honour his triumph, the respect which his presence ever after inspires, and the honourable repose which his old age

[n] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 16. p. 319. [o] Id. ibid. c. 17. p. 321.
[p] Tyrt. ap. Stob. Serm. 49. p. 354.

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enjoys. He painted the still more affecting scene of a young warrior expiring in the field of glory; the august ceremonies which accompany his funeral; the sorrow and regret of a whole people at the sight of his bier; the old men, women, and children, who weep and roll in the dust around his tomb, and the immortal honours which await his memory. Such objects and such sentiments, pourtrayed with an impetuous and rapid eloquence, inflame the warriors with an ardour till then unknown; they fasten to their arms their names and those of their families, too happy in the hope that they may obtain a distinguished sepulchre, and that posterity may one day say, repeating their names, Lo! these are those who died for their country![q]

While a poet wrought this wondrous change in the army of the Lacedæmonians, a king completed his perfidy in ours.[r] Unfavourable rumours, propagated by his orders, had prepared the terrified troops for his base treachery. The signal of battle was for them the signal of flight. Aristocrates led the way in the path of infamy, which he traced out through our battalions, at the moment when they were attacked by the phalanx of the enemy. In an instant the flower of our warriors were extended in the dust, and Messenia was enslaved. Yet no; liberty reserved to herself an asylum on Mount Eira.[s] Thither retired the soldiers who escaped from the carnage, and the citizens who disdained to bend their necks to servi-

[q] Justin. lib. 3. c. 5. [r] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 17. p. 322. [s] Id. ibid. p. 323.

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tude. The conquerors formed a blockade at the foot of the mountain, and with terror saw us above their heads, as the pale mariners behold in the horizon the dark clouds which bear the tempest in their bosom.

Then began the siege, less renowned but no less worthy to be celebrated, than that of Ilium. Then were repeated or realised the exploits of the ancient heroes. The rigours of the seasons, eleven times renewed, were insufficient to weary the ferocious obstinacy of the besiegers, or the unshaken constancy of the besieged.[t]

Three hundred Messenians of distinguished valour accompanied me in my expeditions.[u] We easily passed the barrier at the foot of the mountain, and carried terror to the environs of Sparta. One day, when loaded with plunder, we were surrounded by the army of the enemy. We rushed on the foe, though we despaired to conquer. A deadly wound deprived me of all sense; and, oh! that it had never been again restored! In what a situation did I return to life! Had black Tartarus suddenly presented itself to my sight, it had inspired me with less horror. I found myself extended on a heap of the dead and the dying, in a dark and deep pit, where only were heard the piercing cries and stifled groans of my companions and my friends who had been cast into it before me. I called them by name; we wept together, and my presence seemed to lighten their miseries. He whom most I loved, oh cruel remembrance! oh too fatal

[t] Rhian. ap. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 17. p. 323. [u] Id. ib. c. 18. p. 324.

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image! oh, my son! thou wilt not hear me without shuddering, was one of thy ancestors. I knew, by some words that escaped him, that my fall had hastened the moment of his death. I pressed him in my arms, I covered him with my burning tears, and, unable to arrest the fluttering breath of life hovering on his lips, my soul, steeled by its sufferings, ceased to seek relief in complaints and tears. My friends successively expired around me. By the varied accent of their failing voices I was able to presage the moments of life which yet remained to each, and saw without emotion that instant arrive which concluded their sufferings. At length I heard the final groan of the last among them, and the silence of the grave reigned through the cavern.

Thrice had the sun begun his course since I had been no longer numbered among the living.[x] Motionless, extended on the bed of woe, and wrapped in my mantle, I impatiently expected that death who seemed to estimate his favours at so high a price, when my ear was struck by a slight noise. It was occasioned by a wild animal,* which had entered the cave by a secret passage. I took hold of him; he endeavoured to escape, and drew me after him. I know not by what motive I was actuated, for life then appeared to me the most cruel of sufferings. Some divinity, doubtless, directed my motions, and inspired me with strength. I long crept through a number of oblique

[x] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 18. p. 324. * A fox.

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windings, till I saw the light, when I restored liberty to my guide: and, continuing to open myself a passage, left the region of darkness. I found the Messenians weeping my loss. At sight of me the mountain shook with shouts of joy, and, at the recital of my sufferings, with cries of indignation.

Vengeance closely followed, vengeance cruel as the wrath of the gods. The countries of Messenia and Laconia were day and night ravaged by enemies thirsting for the blood of each other. The Spartans overspread the plain as the flame devours the harvest, and we as the torrent which both destroys the harvest and extinguishes the flame. We had received secret information that the Corinthians were approaching to the succour of the Lacedæmonians; we entered their camp under cover of the darkness, and they passed from the embraces of sleep to those of death.[y] Vain exploits! deceitful hopes! From the immense receptacle of years and ages, Time produces, at the precise moment, those great revolutions which have been conceived in the bosom of etenity, and sometimes announced by oracles. That of Delphi had declared that our ruin should closely follow certain presages which were now fulfilled; and the augur Theoclus warned me that we now approached the catastrophe of all these bloody scenes.[z]

A shepherd, formerly the slave of Emperamus, the general of the Lacedæmonians, daily led his flock

[y] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 19. p. 325. [z] Id. ibid. cap. 20. p. 327.

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to the banks of the Neda, which flows at the foot of Mount Eira.[a] He loved a Messenian woman whose house was situate on the brow of the mountain, and who received him there as often as her husband was on duty in our camp. One night during a dreadful storm, the Messenian unexpectedly came home, and told his wife, who was astonished at his return, that the tempest and the darkness sufficiently defended the place from an assault, that the posts were all abandoned, and that I was confined to my bed by a wound. The shepherd, who had not been seen by the Messenian, heard all that he had said, and immediately carried the information to the Lacedæmonian general.

Exhausted with fatigue and pain, I had resigned myself to the arms of sleep when the Genius of Messenia appeared to me, in a long mourning habit, and with his head covered with a veil. Thou sleepest, Aristomenes, said he, thou sleepest! and already the menacing scaling ladders are affixed around the walls, and already the youthful Spartans have mounted to the assault. The Genius of Lacedæmon prevails over me. I have seen him from the summit of the ramparts calling forward his ferocious warriors, and stretching forth his hand, assign them their several posts.

I started from my sleep, with my soul oppressed, my mind distracted, and in the same astonishment and dismay as if the thunderbolt had fallen at my feet. I threw myself on my arms. My son arrived.

[a] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 19. p. 329.

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Where, exclaimed I, are the Lacedæmonians?—In the forum, at the foot of the ramparts. Astonished at their daring attempt, they hesitate to advance. It is enough, replied I; follow me. We found, as we went, Theoclus the augur, the valiant Manticlus, his son, and other chiefs, who joined us.[b] Run, said I, spread the alarm. Tell the Messenians that, at the break of day, they shall see their general in the midst of the enemy.

The fatal moment arrived.[c] The streets, the houses, the temples, deluged with blood, resounded with dreadful cries. The Messenians, unable to hear my voice, listened only to their rage. The women animated them to the combat, and, arming themselves with a thousand instruments of death, rushed upon the enemy, and, expiring, fell on the bodies of their husbands and their children.

During three days these disastrous scenes were renewed at every step, and every instant, by the livid glare of lightning, and to the continued roar of thunder. The Lacedæmonians, superior in number, acquired fresh strength in the intervals of repose; while the Messenians, fighting without cessation, had at once to contend with hunger, thirst, sleep, and the sword of the enemy.[d]

At the end of the third day, the augur Theoclus thus addressed me! "Alas! what can so much valour or labours so severe avail! Messenia is no more: the gods have decreed her destruction. Save yourself, Aristomenes! save our unfortunate friends;

[b] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 21. p. 330. [c] Id. ibid. p. 321. [d] Id. ib. p. 332.

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it is for me to be buried beneath the ruins of my country."

He said, and throwing himself into the thickest of the conflict, died free, and crowned with glory.

It had been easy for me to have imitated him; but, submitting to the will of the gods, I believed my life might be necessary to that multitude of innocent victims which the sword might else destroy. I collected the women and children, and surrounded them with soldiers. The enemy, persuaded that we intended a retreat, opened their ranks, and suffered us to proceed unmolested to the country of the Arcadians.* I shall not speak either of the design I had formed to march to Lacedæmon and surprise that city while her soldiers were enriching themselves with our spoils on Mount Eira, nor of the perfidy of king Aristocrates, who betrayed our secret to the Lacedæmonians. The treacherous prince was condemned by the assembly of his nation; his subjects themselves became his executioners; he expired beneath a shower of darts; his body was carried into a foreign land, and a column erected which perpetuated his infamy and his punishment.[c]

By this unexpected stroke Fortune clearly manifested her determination. I resolved no longer to attempt to render her propitious, but singly to brave

* The taking of Eira happened in the first year of the 28th Olympiad, in the year 668 before Christ. (Pausan. lib. 4. c. 23. p. 336. Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 46. Freret. Defens. de la Chron. p. 174.) [d] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 301. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 22. p. 335.

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her utmost anger. I gave the tribute of my tears to those Messenians who had been unable to join me, but I refused to be prevailed on by those of my followers who wished to accompany me into distant climes.[e] The Arcadians offered to share with them their lands,[f] but I rejected all their offers. My faithful companions, confounded with a numerous nation, would have lost their name, and the memory of the wrongs they had endured. I gave to them my son, another Aristomenes, for their leader; and under his conduct they sailed to Sicily, where they are reserved till the day of vengeance.[g] *

After this cruel separation, having no longer any thing to fear, and every where seeking to raise up enemies to the Lacedæmonians, I travelled through various countries. At length I determined to go into Asia, and engage the powerful nations of the Medes and Lydians[h] to interest themselves in our behalf. Death, which surprised me at Rhodes, prevented projects that, by bringing these nations into Peloponnesus, might perhaps have changed the face of that part of Greece.

Having ended these words, the hero was silent, and descended into the darkness of the tomb. On the next day I departed for Lybia.

[e] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 23. p. 335. [f] Id. ibid. c. 22. p. 333. [g] Id. ibid. c. 23. p. 335 et 336. * See note XXV. at the end of the volume. [h] Pausan. ibid. c. 24. p. 338.

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THIRD ELEGY.

*On the Third War of Messenia.**

How painful is the remembrance of my country! It is bitter as wormwood; it is keen as the edge of the sword; it renders me alike insensible to pleasure and to danger. I this morning arose before the luminary of day, and wandered with uncertain steps over the plain; but the beauties of Aurora no longer afforded me delight. Two enormous lions rushed from the neighbouring forest. I insulted them not, and they left me unhurt. Cruel Spartans! how had our ancestors injured you? After the taking of Eira you inflicted on them punishments, and, in the intoxication of success, cruelly insulted their sufferings.

Aristomenes has promised us a happier futurity: but what can extinguish in our hearts the sense of the evils of which we have heard the recital, and of which we have been the victims? Happy wert thou, Aristomenes, that thou wert not a witness to them. Thou didst not behold the inhabitants of Messenia dragged to death like the vilest criminals, and sold like herds of cattle,[i] nor didst thou see their descendants, during two centuries, transmit to their children only the opprobrium of their birth.[k] Rest

* This war began in the year 464, and ended in the year 454, before Christ. [i] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. c. 1. [k] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 24. p. 338.

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undisturbed in the tomb, shade of the greatest of mortals, and leave to me to declare to posterity the recent cruelties of the Lacedæmonians.

Their magistrates, the enemies of the gods as well as of mankind, put to death the suppliants whom they forced from the temple of Neptune.[l] The offended deity struck with his trident the coasts of Laconia. The earth trembled, the abyss opened, and, one of the summits of Mount Taygetus rushing into the valley, Sparta was destroyed from the foundations, only five houses remained standing, and more than twenty thousand men being buried beneath her ruins.[m] Behold the signal of our deliverance! instantly exclaimed a multitude of slaves. Madly they ran toward Lacedæmon, without order, and without a leader. At the sight of a body of Spartans, who had been collected by their king Archidamus, they stopped, like the winds unchained by Æolus, at the appearance of the god of the ocean. At the sight of the Athenians, and the different nations which had hastened to the succour of Lacedæmon,[n] the greater part of them were scattered, as the thick vapours of a marsh are dissipated before the first rays of the sun. But it was not in vain that the Messenians took arms; a long slavery had not debased the generous blood that flows in their veins; and as the captive

[l] Aristoph. in Acharn. v. 509. Schol. ibid. Suid. in Ταίναρ. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Cicer. de Divin. lib. 1. c. 50. t. iii. p. 41. Plin. lib. 2. c. 79. t. 1. p. 111. [n] Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 48. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 101 et 128. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 233; et lib. 4. p. 339. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. Ælian. lib. 6. c. 7. Polyæn. lib. 1. c. 41.

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eagle, after having broken his bonds, soars to the skies, they retired to Mount Ithome,[o] and vigorously repulsed the reiterated attacks of the Lacedæmonians, who were soon reduced to call to their assistance the troops of their allies.

Then appeared those Athenians so experienced in the conduct of sieges. They were commanded by Cimon; Cimon whom victory had so often crowned with immortal laurels. The renown of his glory, and the valour of his troops, inspired the besieged with fear, and the Lacedæmonians themselves with apprehension. They dared to suspect this great man of perfidy, and prevailed on him, under frivolous pretexts, to return with his army into Attica. He departed, and the goddess of Discord, who hovered over his camp, foreseeing the calamities ready to fall upon Greece,[p] shook her terrific snakes, and, amid howlings of joy, uttered these dreadful words.

Oh Sparta, Sparta! who only knowest to reward services with injuries, behold those warriors who return to their country, with shame on their brow and indignation in their hearts; they are the same who, lately associated with thine, defeated the Persians at Platæa. They flew to thy defence, and thou hast covered them with infamy. Thou shalt henceforth only see them as thy enemies. Athens, wounded in her honour, shall arm against thee the nations,[q] whom thou shalt likewise excite against her. Thy

[o] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 24. 339. [p] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 101 et 128. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 49. Justin. lib. 3. c. 6. Plut. in Cim. t. i. p. 489. [q] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 102.

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power and hers shall incessantly renew the conflict, as impetuous winds contend with each other among the clouds. Wars shall bring forth wars, and peace shall only be a suspension of rage. I will march with Eumenides at the head of the armies, and from our flaming torches we will shower on you plague, famine, violence, perfidy, and all the scourges of the wrath of heaven and of human passions. I will avenge me of thy ancient virtues, and delight in thy defeats as well as in thy victories. I will exalt, I will abase thy rival. I shall behold thee on thy knees, striking thy humbled forehead against the earth. Thou shalt solicit peace, and peace shall be denied thee.[r] Thou shalt destroy the walls of thy rival; thou shalt trample her beneath thy feet, and you shall both fall together, like two tigers who, after having torn the entrails of each other, expire side by side. Then will I plunge thee so deep in the dust, that the traveller, unable to discern any traces of thee, shall be forced to stoop before he recognizes thee.

Now mark the sign which shall prove to thee the truth of my words. Thou shalt take Ithome in the tenth year of the siege. Thou shalt wish to exterminate the Messenians; but the oracle of Delphi shall prevent thy sanguinary design.[s] Thou shalt permit them to live, on condition that they enjoy life in another climate, and be loaded with chains if they dare to return to their native country.[t] When this

[r] Ibid. lib. 4. c. 41. Aristoph. in Pace, v. 637 et 664. Schol. ibid. [s] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 24. p. 339. [t] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 103.

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prediction shall be accomplished, remember what I have besides foretold, and tremble.

Thus spake the malevolent genius, who extends her powers from the heavens to the infernal shades. We soon after left Ithome. I was yet in my tenderest infancy, but the image of that precipitate flight is impressed on my memory in indelible characters. Still do I behold those scenes of horror and woe which then presented themselves to my view. A whole people, driven from their habitations,[u] wandering whither chance might lead them; among nations terrified at their misfortunes, which they dared not to alleviate; warriors covered with wounds, carrying their aged parents on their shoulders; women, sitting on the ground, expiring with weakness, and clasping their wretched children in their arms; on this side tears and groans and the most violent expressions of despair, and on that, a dumb woe and a profound silence. Were the most cruel of the Spartans to attempt to paint these scenes of misery, some remains of compassion would cause the pencil to drop from his hands.

After long and disastrous journeyings, we at length reached Naupactus, a city situate on the sea of Crissa, and belonging to the Athenians, who bestowed it upon us.[x] In gratitude for the favour, we more than once signalised our valour against the enemies of that generous people. I myself, during the Peloponnesian

[u] Polyb. Hist. lib. 4. p. 300. [x] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 103. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 25. p. 339.

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war, appeared with a body of troops on the coasts of Messenia. I ravaged the country, and extorted tears of rage from our barbarous persecutors.[y] But the gods ever mingle a secret poison with their favours, and too frequently hope is only a snare which they spread for the unfortunate. We began to enjoy tranquillity, when the fleet of Lacedæmon triumphed over that of Athens, and came to insult us at Naupactus. We immediately hastened on board our ships, and on each side no other divinity was invoked but hatred. Never was victory drenched with more impure or more innocent blood. But what can the most intrepid valour effect against excessive superiority of numbers? We were conquered and driven out of Greece as we had been from Peloponnesus. The greater part took refuge in Italy and in Sicily. Three thousand men confided their destiny to my guidance.[z] I led them, through the midst of tempests and rocks, to these shores, which never shall cease to resound with my mournful songs.

Thus ended the third elegy: the youth laid down his lyre; and his father Xenocles added, that a short time after their arrival in Libya, a sedition having happened at Cyrene, the capital of that country, the Messenians took part with the exiles, and were almost all cut off in one battle.[a] He afterwards inquired in what manner the revolution which had

[y] Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 41. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 342. [z] Id. ibid. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 263. [a] Diod. Sic. ibid.

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restored him to Messenia had been effected; to which question, Celenus replied as follows:

The Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas, had defeated the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra, in Bœötia.* Completely to enfeeble their power, and disable them from undertaking distant expeditions, that great man formed the project of placing near them an enemy who should have great injuries to revenge. He sent to the Messenians wherever they were scattered, to invite them to return to the country of their fathers,[b] and we readily obeyed the summons. I found him at the head of a formidable army, surrounded by architects, who traced the plan of a city at the foot of this mountain. A moment after, the general of the Argives approaching, presented to him a brazen urn, which, in consequence of a dream, he had dug out of the earth, where it was concealed under an ivy and a myrtle which interwove their slender branches. Epaminondas having opened it, found in it leaves of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which had anciently been written the rites of the worship of Ceres and Proserpine. He recognised the monument to which was attached the fate of Messenia, and which Aristomenes had buried in the least frequented part of Mount Ithome.[c] This discovery, and the favourable answer of the augurs, impressed the stamp of religion on his enterprise, which was besides powerfully seconded by the neighbouring states, at all times jealous of Lacedæmon.

* The year 371 before Christ. [b] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 342. Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 615. [c] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 343.

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On the day of the consecration of the city, the troops being assembled, the Arcadians presented the victims; and the Thebans, Argives, and Messenians separately offered their homage to their tutelary divinities, and all conjointly called on the heroes of the country to come and take possession of their new habitation.[d] Among these names, so precious to the nation, that of Aristomenes excited universal plaudits. The first day was employed in sacrifices and prayers; and on the second the foundations of the walls, temples, and houses, were laid to the sound of flutes. The city in a little time was finished, and received the name of Messene.

The people of other nations, added Celenus, have long wandered far from their country, but none have suffered so long an exile; yet have we preserved, without alteration, the language and customs of our ancestors.[e] I will even affirm, that our misfortunes have increased our sensibility. The Lacedæmonians had given some of our cities to strangers,[f] who, on our return, implored our compassion. Perhaps they had just claims to obtain it; but even though they had not, how was it possible to refuse it to the unfortunate?

Alas! replied Xenocles, it was this mild and humane character which was formerly our ruin. Our ancestors, neighbours to the Lacedæmonians and the Arcadians, only sunk beneath the hatred of

[d] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 27. p. 345. [e] Id. ibid. p. 346. [f] Id. ibid. c. 24. p. 338.

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the former, because they had neglected the friendship of the latter:[g] they were doubtless ignorant that to ensure peace requires as much activity as to extend conquests.

I put several questions to the Messenians concerning the state of arts and sciences among them. They replied they had not yet had time to cultivate them: on their present government; it had not yet taken any constant form: on that which subsisted during their wars with the Lacedæmonians; it was a mixture of royalty and oligarchy,[h] but public affairs were discussed in the general assembly of the nation.[i] I inquired concerning the origin of the last reigning family; and was answered that it was derived from Cresphontes, who came into Peloponnesus, with the other Heraclidæ, eighty years after the war of Troy. Messenia was alloted to him as his portion. He espoused Merope, the daughter of a king of Arcadia, and was assassinated, with almost all his children, by the chiefs of his court, because he too much loved his people.[k] History has considered it as a duty to eternise his memory as sacred, and to execrate that of his assassins.

We left Messenia, and, after having crossed the Pamisus, visited the eastern coast of the province. Here, as in every other part of Greece, the traveller, at every step, meets with the genealogies of gods confounded with those of men. Not a city, river,

[g] Polyb. lib. 4. p. 300. [h] Id. ibid. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 24. p. 338. [i] Pausan. ibid. c. 6. p. 294. [k] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 286.

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fountain, wood, or mountain, but bears the name of a nymph, a hero, or some distinguished person, more celebrated at present than in the time in which he lived.

Among the numerous families which formerly possessed small domains in Messenia, that of Æsculapius holds a distinguished rank in the veneration of the people. In the city of Abia, we were shown his temple;[l] at Gerenia, the tomb of Machaon, his son;[m] at Pheræ, the temple of Nichomachus and Gorgasus his grandsons,[n] incessantly honoured by sacrifices, offerings, and a numerous concourse of sick persons labouring under every kind of disorder.

While we were listening to a long account of miraculous cures, one of these unfortunate wretches, ready to yield up his last breath, said to us: I had scarcely come into the world when my parents went to settle at the sources of the Pamisus, where it is pretended the waters of that river are extremely salutary for the diseases of infants.[o] I have passed my life in the neighbourhood of beneficent divinities who distribute health to mortals, sometimes in the temple of Apollo, near the city of Corone,[p] and sometimes in the place where I now am, observing all the prescribed ceremonies, and sparing neither for victims nor offerings. I have always been assured that I was cured; but I am dying. He expired the next day.

[l] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 30. p. 353. [m] Id. ibid. c. 3. p. 284. [n] Id. ibid. p. 287, et c. 30. p. 353. [o] Id. ibid. c. 31. p. 356. [p] Id. ibid. c. 34. p. 365.

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CHAPTER XLI.

*Journey through Laconia.**

We embarked at Pheræ, on board a vessel bound for the port of Scandea, in the small island of Cythera, situate at the extremity of Laconia. At this port the merchant ships which come from Egypt and Africa frequently touch. From it an ascent leads to the city of Cythera, in which the Lacedæmonians maintain a garrison. They besides annually send into the island a magistrate as governor.[q]

We were young, and had already formed an intimacy with some passengers of our own age. The name of Cythera had awakened in our minds the most pleasurable ideas. In that island has subsisted from time immemorial the most ancient and most venerated of all the temples dedicated to Venus.[qq] There it was that she for the first time showed herself to mortals,[r] and, accompanied by the Loves, took possession of that land, still embellished by the flowers which hastened to disclose themselves at her presence. From that time have been known there the charms of the amorous interview and the tender smile.[s] Ah! doubtless, in that fortunate region,

* See the map of Laconia, [q] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 53. Scyl. Caryand. ap. Georg. Min. t. i. p. 17. [qq] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269. [r] Hesiod. Theog. v. 198. [s] Hesiod. Theog. v. 205.

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hearts only seek to unite; and the inhabitants pass their days in plenty and in pleasure.

The captain, who heard us with the greatest surprise, said to us coldly: They eat figs and toasted cheese, they have also wine and honey;[t] but they obtain nothing from the earth without the sweat of their brow, for it is a dry and rocky soil.[u] Besides, they are so fond of money,[x] that they are very little acquainted with the tender smile. I have seen their old temple, formerly built by the Phœnicians, in honour of Venus Urania.[y] Her statue is not very suitable to inspire love, as she appears in complete armour.[z] I have been told, as well as you, that the goddess, when she arose out of the sea, landed on this island; but I was likewise told that she soon fled from it into Cyprus.[a]

From these last words we concluded that the Phœnicians, having traversed the seas, landed at the port of Scandea; that they brought thither the worship of Venus, which soon extended into the neighbouring countries; and that hence originated those absurd fables concerning the birth of Venus, her rising out of the sea, and her arrival at Cythera.

Instead of proceeding with our captain to this island, we requested him to leave us at Tænarus, a city of Laconia, the harbour of which is sufficiently

[t] Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Thes. Antiq. Græc. t. vi. p. 2830.
[u] Spon. Voyag. t. i. p. 97. Whel. book i. p. 47. [x] Heracl. ibid.
[y] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 105. [z] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 23. p. 269.
[a] Hesiod. Theog. v. 193.

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large to contain a great number of ships.[b] It is situate near a cape of the same name,[c] on which is a temple, as there is on all the principal promontories of Greece. These sacred edifices attract the vows and the offerings of mariners. That of Tænarus, dedicated to Neptune, stands in the middle of a consecrated grove, which serves as an asylum to criminals.[d] The statue of the god is at the entrance;[e] and at the bottom opens an immense cavern greatly celebrated among the Greeks.

It is affirmed that it was at first the haunt of an enormous serpent, which Hercules slew, and which has been confounded with the dog of Pluto, because its bite was mortal.[f] This idea was associated with one already entertained, that the cavern led to the domains of the gloomy king, by subterranean passages, of which it was impossible for us, when we visited it, to perceive the avenues.[g]

You behold, said the priest, one of the mouths of the infernal shades.[h] Several similar ones are found in different places, as at the city of Hermione, in Argolis;[i] at Heraclea, in Pontus;[k] at Aornus, in Thesprotia;[l] and at Cumæ, near Naples.[m] But not-

[b] Thucyd. lib. 7. cap. 19. [c] Steph. in Ταιν. Schol. Apollon. Argon. lib. 1. v. 102. [d] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 128 et 133. [e] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275. [f] Hecat. Miles ap. Pausan. ibid. [g] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 25. p. 275. [h] Pind. Pyth. 4. v. 79. Schol. ibid. Eustath. in Iliad. t. i. p. 286 et 287. Mela, lib. 2. cap. 3. [i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 373. [k] Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. lib. 6. p. 375. Diod. Sic. lib. 14. p. 261. Plin. lib. 27. cap. 2. p. 419. [l] Herodot. lib. 5. cap. 92. Pausan. lib. 9. cap. 30. p. 769. Hesych. in Θεοι Μολοτ. [m] Synm. Chii. Orb. Descript. v. 248. ap. Geograph. Min. t. i.

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withstanding the pretensions of the inhabitants of these places, we maintain, that it was through this gloomy cavern that Hercules dragged Cerberus up to light,[n] and that Orpheus returned with his wife.[o]

These traditions ought, however, less to engage your attention than a practice of which I am now about to speak. This cavern is in possession of a privilege which many other places enjoy.[p] Hither our diviners come to call up the peaceful shades of the dead, or to banish to the remotest part of the infernal domains the spectres that disquiet the living.

These wonderful effects are produced by sacred ceremonies. Sacrifices and libations must first be made, and prayers and mysterious forms of invocation repeated; the night must then be passed in the temple, and the shade of the deceased person, it is affirmed, never fails to appear in a dream.[q]

Expiatory ceremonies are especially performed here to appease those souls whom sword or poison has separated from their bodies. Thus was it that Callondas formerly repaired hither, by the command of the Pythia, to appease the incensed shade of the poet Archilocus, whom he had deprived of life.[r] I shall relate a still more recent fact: Pausanias, who commanded the Grecian army at Platæa, by a fatal

[n] Euripid. in Herc. Fur. v. 23. Strab. lib. 8. p. 363. Pausan. lib. 3. p. 275. Apollod. lib. 2. p. 131. Schol. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 8. v. 368. [o] Orph. Argon. v. 41. Virg. Georg. lib. 4. v. 467. [p] Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 17. p. 252. [q] Plut. de Consol. t. ii. p. 109. [r] Plut. de Serâ Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 560. Œnom. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 5. p. 228. Suid. in Ἀρχιλ.

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mistake, plunged his poniard into the bosom of Cleonica, whom he tenderly loved. The recollection of what he had done incessantly tormented him, and he continually saw her in his dreams, addressing him every night in these dreadful words: *Punishment awaits thee.*[s] He repaired to Heraclea, in Pontus, and the soothsayers conducted him to the cave where they call up the spirits of the dead, when that of Cleonica appeared to him, and told him that he should find at Lacedæmon the end of his sufferings. He immediately went thither, and, on his arrival, being judged guilty of crimes against the state, he took refuge in a small house, where all means of subsistence being denied him, he perished of hunger. A report was afterwards spread that his shade had been heard to groan in the sacred places; in consequence of which diviners were sent for from Thessaly, who appeased his ghost with the ceremonies customary on such occasions.[t] I relate these prodigies, added the priest; I do not warrant the truth of them. Perhaps, as it is impossible to inspire too much horror for homicide, it has been wisely suggested that the disquietude of mind which is the consequence of guilt is occasioned by the cries of the ghosts who pursue the guilty.

I know not, replied Philotas, how far the multitude ought to be entrusted with the truth, but they ought at least to be guarded against the excess of error. The Thessalians in the last century might

[s] Plut de Serâ Numin. Vind. t. ii. p. 555; et in Cim. t. i. p. 482.
[t] Plut. ibid. p. 560. Id. ap. Schol. Eurip. in Alcest. v. 1128. Bayle, Rep. aux Quest. t. i. p. 345.

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have been convinced of this by melancholy experience. Their army was in sight of that of the Phocians, who, during a light night, detached to the attack of the enemy's camp six hundred men, covered with plaster. However gross this stratagem, the Thessalians, accustomed from their infancy to stories of apparitions and phantoms, imagined these soldiers to be celestial genii, who had come to the assistance of the Phocians; they therefore made but a feeble resistance, and suffered themselves to be slaughtered like victims.[u]

A similar instance of superstition and credulity, replied the priest, formerly produced the same effect in our army when in Messenia. The troops believed that Castor and Pollux had honoured with their presence the festival they celebrated to those deities. Two young and beautiful Messenians appeared at the head of the camp, mounted on superb horses, with their lances in the rest, and clad in a white tunic, a purple mantle, and a pointed cap with a star on the top; in the habit and ornaments, in short, in which those two heroes, the objects of our worship, are represented. They entered, and falling on the soldiers prostrate at their feet, made a dreadful slaughter of them, and retired unmolested.[x] The gods, irritated at this perfidy, soon after manifested their anger against the Messenians.

Is it possible, cried I, that you Lacedæmonians should mention the word perfidy; you who have been

[u] Herodot. lib. 8. c. 27. Pausan. lib. 10. c. 1. p. 801. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. 6. c. 18. [x] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 27. p. 344.

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guilty of such flagrant injustice, and who are polluted with the blackest crimes of ambition! I had conceived a high idea of your laws; but your wars in Messenia have fixed an indelible stain on your nation. Have you, answered he, received an impartial account of them and their origin? If you have, it is the first time that the vanquished have done justice to their conquerors. Listen to me a moment.

When the descendants of Hercules returned into Peloponnesus, Cresphontes obtained by surprise the throne of Messenia.[y] He was assassinated some time after, and his children taking refuge at Lacedæmon, gave up to us the rights they inherited from their father. Though the validity of this cession was confirmed by the oracle of Delphi,[z] we long neglected to enforce our claims.

In the reign of Teleclus, we sent, according to ancient usage, a number of maidens, under the conduct of that prince, to present offerings at the temple of Diana Limnatis, situate on the confines of Messenia and Laconia. They were violated by some young Messenians, and killed themselves rather than survive their shame; the king himself lost his life in endeavouring to defend them.[a] The Messenians, to justify so vile a crime, had recourse to the most absurd pretences, and Lacedæmon overlooked the injury rather than break the peace; till new insults having exhausted her patience,[b] she claimed her

[y] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 3 et 4. [z] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 20. [a] Strab. lib. 8. p. 62. Pausan. lib. 4. c. 4. p. 288. [b] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 4 et 5.

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rights, and commenced hostilities. This was less a war of ambition than vengeance, as you may yourself judge from the oath by which the young Spartans engaged never to return to their country, till they had subjugated Messenia, and by the ardour with which even our old men promoted the enterprise.[c]

After the first war the laws of Greece authorised us to make slaves of the vanquished; but we were contented with imposing on them a tribute. Their frequent revolts obliged us, after having conquered them in a second war, to load them with chains, and, after a third, to banish them from our neighbourhood. Our conduct appeared so conformable to the laws of nations, that, in the treaties prior to the battle of Leuctra, neither the Greeks nor Persians ever proposed to us to restore liberty to Messenia.[d] You will remember that I am a minister of peace. If my country is forced to take arms, I lament the occasion; and if she is guilty of injustice I condemn her conduct. When war commences, I shudder at the calamities about to fall on my fellow mortals, and I ask why they are cruel; but it is the secret of the gods, and it behoves us to adore and be silent.

We left Tænarus, after having visited in its environs some quarries from which is dug a black stone as valuable as marble.[e] We proceeded to Gythium, a city encircled with walls, and very strong; with an

[c] Pausan. lib. 4. c. 4 et 5. Justin. lib. 3. c. 4. [d] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 24. [e] Plin. lib. 36. c. 18. t. ii. p. 748. Id. ibid. c. 22. p. 752. Strab. lib. 8. p. 367.

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excellent harbour, in which the fleets of Lacedæmon ride secure, and find every requisite for their maintenance and safety.[f] It is distant from the city thirty stadia.[g]

The history of the Lacedæmonians has rendered the small district they inhabit so renowned, that we visited the smallest villages and the most inconsiderable towns, both in the environs of the gulf of Laconia, and in the inland country. We were every where shown temples, statues, columns, and other monuments, the greater part of rude workmanship, and some of venerable antiquity.[h] In the gymnasium of Asopus our attention was attracted by human bones of a prodigious size.[i]

Having returned to the banks of the Eurotas, we ascended it through a valley which it waters,[k] and afterwards through the middle of a plain which extends to the city of Lacedæmon. On our right we had the river, and on our left Mount Taygetus, at the foot of which Nature has hollowed out in the rock a number of spacious caverns.[l]

At Bryseæ we found a temple of Bacchus, which men are forbidden to enter, women alone being permitted to sacrifice in it, and to perform certain ceremonies which it is not lawful for them to reveal.[m] We had before seen a city of Laconia where women are excluded from the sacrifices offered to the god Mars.[n]

[f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 609. Liv. lib. 34. c. 29. [g] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367. [h] Pausan. lib. c. 22. p. 265. [i] Id. ibid. p. 267. [k] Strab. lib. 8. p. 343. Liv. lib. 34. c. 28. [l] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 75. [m] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 261. [n] Id. ibid. c. 22. p. 267.

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From Bryseæ we were shown, on the summit of a neighbouring mountain, a place named the Taletum, where, among other animals, horses were sacrificed to the sun.[o] Farther on, the inhabitants of a small town boasted that they were the first inventors of mills to grind corn.[p]

We soon after came in sight of the town of Amyclæ, situate on the right bank of the Eurotas, and distant from Lacedæmon about twenty stadia.[q] There we saw on a column the statue of an athleta who expired the instant after he had received the crown bestowed on him as victor at the Olympic games. Around this statue were several tripods, consecrated by the Lacedæmonians to different divinities, in memory of the victories they had gained over the Athenians and Messenians.[r]

We were impatient to visit the temple of Apollo, one of the most famous in Greece. The statue of the god, in height about thirty cubits,[s] * is of rude workmanship, and somewhat in the taste of the Egyptians. It might be taken for a pillar of brass, to which had been fastened a head with a helmet, two hands armed with a bow and lance, and two feet, the extremities of which only appear. The statue is of very high antiquity, and, in succeeding times, was placed, by an artist named Bathycles, on a base, in form of an altar, standing on a throne supported by the Hours and Graces. The same artist has orna-

[o] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 261. [p] Id. ibid. p. 260. [q] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367. [r] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 18. p. 254. [s] Id. ibid. c. 19. p. 257. * About 42½ French (or 45 English) feet.

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mented the faces of the base and every part of the throne with bas-reliefs, which represent so many different subjects, and contain so great a number of figures, that it is impossible to describe them without being disgustingly tedious.

The temple is served by priestesses, the principal of whom takes the title of mother. After her death, her name, and the years during which she exercised her functions, are engraven on marble. We were shown the tablets which contain the series of epochas so precious to chronology, and we read in them the name of Laodamia, the daughter of Amyclas, who reigned in this country more than a thousand years since.[t] Other inscriptions deposited here to render them more venerable, contain treaties between states,[u] several decrees of the Lacedæmonians relative to religious ceremonies or military expeditions, and vows addressed to the gods by sovereigns or individuals.[x]

Not far from the temple of Apollo is another temple, of which the building is not more than seventeen feet long by ten and a half broad.[y] Five rude stones of a black colour, and five feet thick, compose the four walls and the roof, on which are laid two other stones retiring inwards. The edifice stands on three steps, each of a single stone. Above the entrance are engraven, in very ancient characters, these words: EUROTAS KING OF THE ICTEUCRATES TO

[t] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxiii. p. 406. [u] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 18 et 28. [x] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 395; t. xvi. Hist. p. 104. Inscript. Fourmont. in Bibl. Reg. [y] Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xv. p. 402.

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ONGA. This prince lived about three centuries before the Trojan war. The name of Icteucrates signifies the ancient inhabitants of Laconia;[z] and that of Onga, a divinity of Phœnicia or Egypt, the same, as is supposed, with the Minerva of the Greeks.[a]

This edifice, which we more than once recollected during our travels in Egypt, is prior, by many centuries, to the most ancient in Greece. After having admired its simplicity and solidity, we sunk into a kind of thoughtfulness, of which we afterwards endeavoured to investigate the cause. It is only, said Philotas, the attention of surprise. We reflect on the number of ages which have elapsed since the foundation of this temple, with the same astonishment with which, when arrived at the foot of a mountain, we have often measured with our eyes its stupendous height. The extent of duration produces the same effect as that of space. Yet, replied I, the one leaves in our minds an impression of melancholy that we never experience from the other. Is it not in reality because we are more intimately connected with duration than with extension? All these ancient ruins are the trophies of destroying time, and, in despite of ourselves, enforce our attention to the instability of all human things. Here, for example, an inscription has presented to us the name of a people of whom neither you nor I had any knowledge.

[z] Hesych. in Ἰκτινχᾶ. [a] Steph. in Ὄγκ. Hesych. in Ογγα. Æschyl. in Sept. contra. Theb. v. 170. Schol. ibid. et in v. 493. Seld de Diis. Syr. Syntag. cap. 4. Boch. Geog. Sacr. part. 2. lib. 2. c. 12. p. 475.

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They have disappeared, and this small temple is the only testimony that they have existed, the only fragment that has remained of their wreck.

Smiling meadows [b] and lofty trees embellish the environs of Amyclæ. The fruits there are excellent.[c] It is a very agreeable place of abode, tolerably populous, and always full of strangers,[d] attracted by the splendour of the festivals, or by motives of religion. We left it to proceed to Lacedæmon.

We took up our residence at the house of Damonax, to whom we had been recommended by Xenophon. Philotas found three letters which obliged him to depart the next day for Athens. I shall not speak of Lacedæmon till I have given a general idea of the province of Laconia.

It is bounded to the east and south by the sea, to the west and the north by high mountains, or by hills which descend from them, and form between them pleasant valleys. The mountains to the west are named Taygetus. From some of their summits, which rise above the clouds,[e] the eye may survey the whole of Peloponnesus.[f] Their sides, almost every where covered with woods, are the asylum of a great number of goats, bears, wild boars, and stags.[g]

Nature, which has here delighted to multiply these species of animals, seems also to have produced, purposely to destroy them, certain races of dogs, which

[b] Stat. Theb. lib. 9. v. 769. Liv. lib. 34. c. 28. [c] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 367. [d] Inscript. Fourmont. in Bebl. Reg. [e] Strat. Theb. lib. 2. vers. 35. [f] Schol. Pind. in Nem. 10 vers. 111. [g] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 261.

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are every where in great estimation,[h] and especially valuable for hunting the wild boar.[i] They are swift, spirited, impetuous,[k] and endowed with an exquisite scent.[l] The females possess these qualities in the highest degree:[m] and they also have another advantage, for they live, in general, nearly twelve years, while the males seldom live longer than ten.[n] To produce a breed more ardent and courageous, they are coupled with Molossian dogs;[o] and it is affirmed that they sometimes will of themselves couple with foxes,[p] and that from this mixture is generated a race of weak and ugly dogs, with thin short hair, a pointed nose, and inferior in quality to the others.[q]

Among the dogs of Laconia, the black spotted with white are remarkable for their beauty,[r] the fawn coloured[s] for their sagacity, and the Castorides and Manelaides for bearing the names of Castor and Menelaus, who multiplied their breed.[t] For the chase was anciently the amusement of heroes, after it had ceased to be to them a labour of necessity. They were at first forced to defend themselves against fero-

[h] Theophr. Charact. c. 5. Eustath. in Odyss. p. 1822. Meurs. Miscel. Lacon. lib. 3. c. 1. [i] Xen. de Venat. p. 991. [k] Callim. Hymn. in Dian. v. 94. Senec. Trag. in Hippol. v. 35. Virg. Georg. lib. 3. v. 405. [l] Plat. in Parmen. t. iii. p. 128. Aristot. de Gener. Animal. lib. 5. c. 2. t. i. p. 1139. Sophocl. in Ajac. v. 8. [m] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. c. 1. t. i. p. 922. [n] Id. ibid. lib. 6. cap. 20. p. 878. Plin. lib. 10. cap. 63. t. i. p. 578. [o] Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. 9. c. 1. p. 922. [p] Id. ibid. lib. 8. cap. 28. p. 920. Hesych. in Κυναλώπ. Poll. lib. 5 cap. 5. § 39. [q] Xen. de Venat. p. 976. Them. Orat. 21. p. 241. [r] Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 199. [s] Horat. Epod. od. 6. v. 5. [t] Poll. lib. 5. c. 5. § 38.

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cious animals, which they soon compelled to take refuge in wild and uncultivated regions. When they were no longer in danger from these, rather than languish in indolence, they sought new enemies for the pleasure of combating them: the blood of the innocent dove was shed, and the chase became their favourite diversion, since it presented to them the image of war.

On the land side Laconia is of difficult access.[u] It can only be entered over steep hills and through defiles easy to defend.[x] At Lacedæmon the plain widens;[y] and, advancing toward the south, we find some fertile districts;[z] though, in certain places, on account of the inequality of the ground, cultivation requires great labour.[a] Through the plain[b] are scattered eminences raised by the hand of man, and more frequently found in this country than in the neighbouring provinces. They were constructed before the birth of the arts, and intended for the tombs of the principal chiefs of the nation.* According to all appearance, similar heaps of earth, raised for the same purposes, were afterwards succeeded, in Egypt, by the pyramids. Thus it is that in every age and country the pride of man has constantly associated itself with his insignificance and annihilation.

[u] Eurip. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607. [x] Xen. ibid. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 150. Liv. lib. 34. c. 28; lib. 35. c. 27. [y] Le Roi, Ruines de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 31. [z] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. Plat. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. Polyb. lib. p. 367. [a] Europ. ap. Strab. lib. 8. p. 366. [b] Athen. lib. 14. c. 5. p. 625. *Similar hills are found in many countries inhabited by the ancient Germans.

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As to the productions of Laconia, we shall observe that we find there a number of plants useful in medicine,[c] as also a light kind of corn which affords little nourishment;[d] that fig-trees there must be frequently watered, without fear of injuring the quality of the fruit;[e] that figs ripen sooner there than in other countries;[f] and, lastly, that on all the coasts of Laconia, as well as on those of Cythera, a considerable fishery is carried on, of that kind of shell-fish from which is obtained a much esteemed purple dye[g] approaching to a rose colour.[h]

Laconia is subject to earthquakes.[i] It is asserted that it formerly contained a hundred cities;[k] but this was at a time when the most inconsiderable town assumed that title: all we can say at present is, that it is extremely populous.[l] The Eurotas traverses it through its whole extent, and receives the streams, or rather the torrents, which descend from the neighbouring mountains. During a great part of the year this river cannot be forded;[m] but it every where flows in a narrow channel, and, when at the highest, its merit is that it has more depth than breadth.

At certain seasons it is covered with swans of a

[c] Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 367. [d] Id. ibid. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 932. [e] Id. ibid. lib 2. c. 8. p. 92. [f] Id. de Caus. Plant. ap. Athen. lib 3. p. 77. Plin. lib. 16. cap. 26. t. ii. p. 20. [g] Aristot. ap. Steph. in Κυθηρ. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 21. p. 264. Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. t. i. p. 208. [h] Plin. lib. 21. c. 8. [i] Strab. lib. 8. p. 367. Eustath. in Iliad. lib. 2. p. 294. [k] Strab. lib. 8. p. 362. Eustath. in Dionys. v. 419. [l] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. Polyb. lib. 2. p. 125. [m] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369.

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dazzling whiteness,[n] and it almost every where abounds with reeds in great request, because they are straight, tall, and of different colours.[o] Among other purposes for which they are employed, the Lacedæmonians make mats of them, and crown themselves with them at certain festivals.[p] I remember, on this occasion, that an Athenian, one day declaiming against the folly of men, said to me: A feeble reed is all that is necessary to subject, to instruct, and to sooth them. I requested him to explain himself, and he added: Of this frail material are made arrows, pens to write with, and instruments of music.[q] *

To the right of the Eurotas, at a small distance from the river,[r] is the city of Lacedæmon, otherwise named Sparta. It is not surrounded with walls;[s] its only defence is the valour of its inhabitants,[t] and some eminences, on which soldiers may be posted in case of an attack.[u] The highest of these eminences serves as a citadel: its summit is a spacious flat ground, on which are erected several sacred edifices.[x]

Around this hill are ranged five towns, separated from each other by intervals of different extent, and

[n] Stat. Sylv. lib. 1. v. 143. Guill. Laced. Anc. t. i. p. 97. [o] Euripid. in Hel. v. 355 et 500. Theogn. Sent. v. 783. Theophr. Hist. Plant. lib. 4. c. 12. p. 470. [p] Sosib. ap. Athen. lib. 15. p. 674. [q] Plin. lib. 16. c. 36. t. ii. p. 27. * Flutes were commonly made of reeds. [r] Polyb. lib. 5. p. 369. [s] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 68. p. 60. Id. in Ages. p. 662. Nep. in Ages. c. 6. Liv. lib. 39. c. 37. [t] Justin. lib. 14. c. 5. [u] Plut. in Ages. t. i. p. 613. Liv. lib. 34. c. 38. [x] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 250.

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each occupied by one of the five tribes of Spartans.* Such is the city of Lacedæmon, the quarters of which are not joined like those of Athens.[y] Formerly the cities of Peloponnesus were only composed of villages, which were afterwards united by including them within one common inclosure.[z] †

The great square, or forum, in which several streets terminate, is embellished with temples and statues. It likewise contains the edifices in which the senate, the ephori, and other bodies of magistrates, assemble;[a] as also a portico which the Lacedæmonians erected after the battle of Platæa, at the expense of the vanquished, whose spoils they had shared. The roof is not supported by columns, but by gigantic statues, representing Persians habited in flowing robes.[b] The other parts of the city likewise present us with a great number of monuments in honour of the gods and ancient heroes.

On the highest of the eminences stands a temple of Minerva, which has the privilege of asylum, as likewise has the grove which surrounds it, and a small house belonging to it, in which the king Pausanias[c] was left to expire with hunger. This was resented by the goddess as a profanation, and the oracle commanded the Lacedæmonians to erect to that prince two statues, which are still seen near

* See note XXVI. at the end of the volume. [y] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 10. [z] Id. ibid. Strab. lib. 8. p. 337. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. p. 40. † See the plan of Lacedæmon, and note XXVII. at the end of the volume. [a] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 231. [b] Vitruv. lib. 1. c. 1. [c] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 134.

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the altar.* The temple was built of brass,[e] as formerly was that of Delphi.[f] Within are engraven, in bas-relief, the labours of Hercules, the achievements of the Tyndarides, and various groupes of figures.[g] To the right of this edifice is a statue of Jupiter, perhaps the most ancient statue of brass existing. It is of the same date with the re-establishment of the Olympic games, and is only an assemblage of pieces fitted to each other, and fastened together with nails.[h]

The tombs of the two reigning families at Lacedæmon are in two different quarters.[i] We every where meet with heroic monuments, which is the name given to edifices and groves consecrated to ancient heroes.[k] There sacred rites perpetuate and honour the memory of Hercules, Tyndarus, Castor, Pollux, Menelaus, with a number of others more or less known to history, and more or less deserving to be known. The gratitude of nations, and more frequently the answers of oracles, formerly obtained them these distinctions; but the most noble motives have united to raise a temple to Lycurgus.[l]

Similar honours were afterwards more rarely bestowed. I have seen columns and statues erected for Spartans crowned at the Olympic games,[m] but

[d] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 253. [e] Thucyd. lib. 1. cap. 134. Liv. lib. 35. c. 36. Suid. in Χαλχ. [f] Pausan. lib. 10. c. 5. p. 810. [g] Id. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 250. [h] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 17. p. 251. [i] Id. ibid. c. 12. p. 237; c. 14. p. 240. [k] Id. ibid. p. 230, &c. [l] Herodot. lib. 1. c. 66. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 248. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 59. [m] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 13. p. 240; c. 14. p. 241; c. 18. p. 254.

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never for the conquerors of the enemies of their country. Statues may be decreed to wrestlers, but the public esteem should be the rewards of soldiers. Among all those who during the last century signalised their valour against the Persians or against the Athenians, four or five only received funeral honours in the city, and it is probable that this distinction was not granted them without difficulty. In fact, it was not till forty years after the death of Leonidas that his bones were conveyed to Lacedæmon, and deposited in a tomb near the theatre; then also was it that the names of the three hundred Spartans who had fallen with that immortal man were, for the first time, inscribed on a column.[n]

The greater part of the monuments I have mentioned inspire the more reverence, as they display no ostentation, and are almost all of a rude workmanship. In other cities I have frequently detected my admiration wholly directed to the artist, but at Lacedæmon it was entirely engrossed by the hero. An unshapen stone sufficed to recal him to my memory; but that remembrance was ever accompanied with a splendid image of his virtues or his victories.

The houses at Lacedæmon are small, and without ornament. Halls and porticos have been erected, to which the citizens resort to converse together or transact business.[o] On the south side of the city is the hippodromus, or course for foot and horse races;[p]

[n] Pausan. lib. 3. c. 14. p. 240. [o] Id. ibid. c. 14 et 15.
[p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. Liv. lib. 34. c. 27.

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and, at a little distance from that, the platanistas, or place of exercise for youth, shaded by beautiful plane trees, and inclosed by the Eurotas on one side, a small river which falls into it on the other, and a canal by which they communicate on the third. It is entered by two bridges, on one of which is the statue of Hercules, or all-subduing Force; and on the other that of Lycurgus, or all-regulating Law.[q]

From this slight sketch we may judge of the surprise which must be felt by an admirer of the arts, who, invited to Lacedæmon by the fame its inhabitants have acquired, should only find, instead of a magnificent city, some poor villages; and instead of sumptuous houses, obscure cottages; and instead of impetuous and turbulent warriors, men of a peaceable disposition, and commonly wrapt in a coarse cloak. But how would his surprise increase when Sparta, better known, should offer to his admiration one of the greatest of men, and one of the most noble of the works of man; Lycurgus and his institutions!

[q] Pausan. cap. 14. p. 242. Lucian. de Gymnas. t. ii. p. 919.

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CHAPTER XLII.

Of the Inhabitants of Laconia.

THE descendants of Hercules, supported by a body of Dorians, having possessed themselves of Laconia, resided there undistinguished from the ancient inhabitants of the country. A short time after, they imposed on them a tribute, and deprived them of a part of their rights. The cities which submitted to their will preserved their liberty: that of Helos resisted, but, being soon overcome, its inhabitants were reduced to a condition little differing from slavery.[r]

Dissensions afterwards took place among the Spartans, and the most powerful drove out the weaker party into the country or the neighbouring towns.[s] A distinction is still made between the Lacedæmonians of the capital and those of the province, and between both these and that prodigious number of slaves who are dispersed through the country.

The former, who are often called Spartans, form that body of warriors on whom depends the fate of Laconia. Their number, it is said, anciently amounted to ten thousand.[t] In the time of Xerxes it was eight thousand.[u] The late wars have so reduced

[r] Strab. lib. 8. p. 365. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 40. [s] Isocr. Panathen. t. ii. p. 274. [t] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 329. [u] Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 234.

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them that we now find very few ancient families at Sparta.[x] I have sometimes seen not less than four thousand persons in the forum, among whom I could scarcely discover forty Spartans, even including the two kings, the ephori, and the senators.[y]

The greater part of the new families are descended from Helots, who have been first rewarded with their liberty, and afterwards with the title of citizens. They are not called Spartans, but have various names according to the difference of the privileges they have obtained, all of which intimate their former condition.[z]

Three great men, Callicratidas, Gylippus, and Lysander, born in this class,[a] were educated with the children of Spartans, as are all the sons of the freed Helots;[b] but it was not till they had signalised themselves by great services that they were admitted to all the rights of citizens.

The title and privileges of a citizen were formerly rarely granted, except to those who were born of parents both Spartans.[c] They are an indispensable qualification for the offices of magistracy, and the command of the army.[d] But a part of these privileges may be lost by a flagitious action. The government is in general watchful over the preservation of those who are invested with them, and particularly careful

[x] Aristot. ibid. Plut. in Agid. t. i. p. 797. [y] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494. [z] Thucyd. lib. 5. c. 34. Id. lib. 7. c. 58. Hesych. in Νεοδαμ. Poll. lib. 3. c. 8. § 83. [a] Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. c. 43. [b] Athen. lib. 6. c. 20. p. 271. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 6. Crag. de Rep. Laced. lib. 1. c. 5. [c] Herodot. lib. 9. c. 33. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. c. 17. t. i. p. 270. [d] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t. ii. p. 230.

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of the lives of the Spartans by birth. Lacedæmon has been known, in order to recover some of them who were blocked up in an island by the Athenian fleet, to sue to Athens for a disgraceful peace, and sacrifice her navy to her rival.[e] But a small number of them are ever exposed to the dangers of war. In these latter times the kings Agesilaus and Agesipolis frequently had not more than thirty of that class of citizens with them in their expeditions.[f]

Notwithstanding the loss of their ancient privileges, the cities of Laconia form a confederation, the object of which is to unite their forces in war, and to maintain their rights in time of peace. When the interests of the whole state are to be discussed, they send their deputies to the general assembly, which is always held at Sparta.[g] There are settled the contributions which each city shall pay, and the number of troops it shall furnish.

The inhabitants of these cities do not receive the same education as those of the capital. Their manners are more rude,[h] and their courage less conspicuous. Hence it is that the city of Sparta has obtained the same ascendance over the other cities of Laconia, as the city of Elis over those of the district of Elis,[i] and that of Thebes over those of Bœötia. This superiority excites their jealousy and hatred.[k] In one of the expeditions of Epaminondas,

[e] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 15 et 19. [f] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 496; lib. 5. p. 562. [g] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 579. [h] Liv. lib. 34. cap. 27. [i] Herodot. lib. 4. cap. 148. Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 31. [k] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 3. p. 494.

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several of them joined their forces to those of the Thebans.[l]

There are more domestic slaves at Lacedæmon than in any other city of Greece.[m] They serve their masters at table,[n] dress them and undress them,[o] execute their orders, and preserve cleanliness in the house. In the army a great number are employed to carry the baggage.[p] As the Lacedæmonian women must not labour, they employ female servants to spin wool.[q]

The Helots have received their name from the city of Helos.[r] They must not be confounded, as they have been by some authors,[s] with the slaves properly so called.[t] They rather occupy a middle state between slaves and free citizens.[u]

A particular kind of dress, a cap made of skin, severe treatment, and sentences of death frequently pronounced against them on the slightest suspicions, incessantly remind them of their condition;[x] but their servile situation is recompensed by real advantages. Like the vassals of Thessaly,[y] they farm the lands of the Spartans; and that they may be attached to the service of their masters by the allurement of gain, they are only required to pay a rent which has long been fixed, and is by no means corresponding to

[l] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 607 et 609. [m] Thucyd. lib. 8. c. 40. [n] Crit. ap. Athen. lib. 11. cap. 3. p. 463. [o] Plat. de Leg. lib. 1. t. ii. p. 633. [p] Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 586. [q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675. [r] Hellan. ap. Harpocr. in Εἵλωτ. Pausan. lib. 3. c. 20. p. 261. [s] Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 23. [t] Plut. in Alcib. 1. t. ii. p. 122. [u] Poll. lib. 3. cap. 8. § 83. [x] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657. [y] Suid. et Harpocr. in Πενέ.

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the produce: and this rent it would be considered as disgraceful in any proprietor of land to attempt to increase.[z]

Some of them employ themselves in the mechanical arts with so much success, that the keys,[a] beds, tables, and chairs, that are made at Lacedæmon, are everywhere in the greatest request.[b] The Helots likewise serve as sailors on board the fleet;[c] and in the army every oplites, or heavy-armed soldier, is accompanied by one or more of them.[d] At the battle of Platæa every Spartan had seven of them to attend him.[e]

In times of imminent danger they have been encouraged to exert themselves by the hope of liberty,[f] which numerous bodies of them have sometimes obtained for their services.[g] This benefit they can only receive from the state, because they belong more to that than the citizens whose lands they cultivate; and hence it is that the latter can neither give them their freedom, nor sell them into foreign countries.[h] Their enfranchisement is performed by a public ceremony, in which they are led from one temple to another, crowned with flowers, and exposed to the sight of the

[z] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Id. Apophth. t. ii. p. 216. Id. Instit. Lacon. p. 289. Myron. ibid. [a] Aristoph. in Thesmoph. v. 430. Bisset. ibid. [b] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 45. [c] Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 615. [d] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 8. [e] Herodot. lib. 9. cap. 10 et 28. Plut. in Arist. t. i. p. 325. Id. de Malign. Herodot. t. ii. p. 871. [f] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 26. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 608. [g] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 124. [h] Strab. lib. 8. p. 365. Pausan. lib. 3. cap. 20.

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people.[i] They are afterwards permitted to dress in what manner they please,[k] and by new services may be raised to the rank of citizens.

From the time they were first subjected, these vassals, impatient of their servitude, had often endeavoured to break their yoke; but when the Messenians, after having been conquered by the Lacedæmonians, were reduced to the same disgraceful condition,[l] revolts became more frequent.[m] Excepting a small number who remained faithful,[n] the rest, placed as it were in ambuscade, in the midst of the state, took advantage of its misfortunes to seize on an important post,[o] or to go over to the enemy. The government endeavoured to retain them in their duty by rewards, but more often by the most cruel severities. It is even said that, on a certain occasion, two thousand of them, who had given proofs of too much courage, suddenly disappeared, and that it was never known in what manner they perished.[p] Other instances of barbarity,[q] no less execrable,* are recorded, and have given occasion to the proverb, that, "at Sparta the free man is the freest of

[i] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. [k] Thucyd. lib. 5. cap. 34. [l] Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 8. p. 297; cap. 23. p. 335. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 1. [m] Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 10. t. ii. p. 333. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. lib. 1. p. 435. [n] Hesych. in Αργεῖοι. [o] Thucyd. lib. i. cap. 101. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. cap. 9. t. ii. p. 328. Plut. in Cym. t. i. p. 489. Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 14. p. 339. [p] Thucyd. lib. 4. cap. 80. Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. [q] Myron. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657. * See note XXVIII. at the end of the volume.

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all men, and the slave the greatest of slaves."[r] I have never witnessed these severities; I have only seen that the Spartans and the Helots, full of mutual distrust, observe each other with fear; and that the former, to make themselves obeyed, have recourse to severities which circumstances seem to render necessary. For the Helots are extremely difficult to govern; their number, their courage, and especially their riches, render them daring and insolent;[s] and hence it is that intelligent authors are divided with respect to this species of slavery, which some condemn and others approve.[t]

[r] Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. [s] Aristot. de Rep. lib. ii. cap. 5. t. ii. p. 318. [t] Plat. de Leg. lib. 6. t. ii. p. 776.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

General Ideas on the Legislation of Lycurgus.

I had been some days at Sparta, where my appearance excited no surprise, the law which formerly rendered it difficult for strangers to enter the country being no longer enforced with the same rigour. I was introduced to the two princes then on the throne; these were Cleomenes, grandson of the king Cleombrotus, who was killed at the battle of Leuctra, and Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Both were men of understanding: the former loved peace; the latter breathed only war, and enjoyed great credit and influence. I likewise knew that Antalcidas, who, about thirty years before, had negotiated a treaty between Greece and Persia. But of all the Spartans, Damonax, at whose house I lodged, appeared to me the most communicative and intelligent. He had travelled in foreign countries, but was not the less acquainted with his own.

One day, when I overwhelmed him with questions, he said to me: To judge of our laws by our present manners, would be to judge of the beauty of an edifice by a heap of ruins. Let us then, replied I, place ourselves at that point of time when they flourished in their full vigour: do you think we shall thus be able to discover their true connection and spirit; do you

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imagine it can be easy to justify the extraordinary and whimsical regulations they contain? Reverence, replied he, the work of a genius, whose views, ever new and profound, only appear extravagant because those of other legislators are too timid and bounded. They were contented to adapt their laws to the character of their people: Lycurgus, by his, gave a new character to the nation for which he framed them. They have departed from Nature while they believed themselves to approach her; but he became more closely united to her the more he appeared to wander from her.

A sound body and a free mind are all that Nature requires to render man happy in solitude. These therefore are the advantages which, according to Lycurgus, ought to be made the foundation of our happiness. You already conceive why he has forbidden us to marry our daughters at a premature age; why they are not brought up beneath the shade of their rustic roofs, but exposed to the burning rays of the sun, in the dust of the gymnasium, and habituated to the exercises of wrestling, running, and throwing the javelin and discus.[u] As they were to give healthy and vigorous citizens to the state, it was necessary that they should acquire a sound and strong constitution, that they might transmit the same to their children.

You also conceive why our children at their birth undergo a solemn examination, and are condemned to perish if they are found of a bad conform-

[u] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 675 et 676. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 47. Id. in Num. p. 77.

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ation of body.[x] Of what use, indeed, would they be to the state, or what comfort could they derive from life, if they only dragged on a painful and wearisome existence?

From our most early infancy, an uninterrupted succession of labours and combats bestows on our bodies agility, suppleness, and strength; and a strict regimen prevents or dispels the maladies to which we are liable. All artificial wants are here unknown, and the laws have been careful to provide for all real ones. Those objects of terror, hunger, thirst, pain, and death, are viewed by us with an indifference which philosophy seeks to imitate in vain. The most rigid sects have never been able to manifest that contempt for pain with which it is treated even by children at Sparta.

But these men to whom Lycurgus has wished to restore the blessings of nature cannot, perhaps, be expected long to enjoy them; they will approach and associate with each other; passions will take birth and the edifice of their happiness be overthrown in an instant. Here it is that we behold the triumph of genius. Lycurgus knew that a violent passion subdues all the rest. He therefore will give us the love of our country,[y] in all its energy, its plentitude, its transports, nay even its delirium. This love shall be so ardent and so imperious, that in it shall concentre all the interests and all the emotions of our hearts.

[x] Plut. in Lycurg. p. 49. [y] Id ibid. t. i. p. 55.

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Then shall there remain in the state but one will, and, by consequence, one spirit; for, in fact, whenever there is but one sentiment, there is but one idea.

Throughout the rest of Greece,[z] the children of the free man are confided to the care of the man who is not, or deserves not, to be free. But slaves and mercenaries may not aspire to educate Spartans. Our country herself takes upon her this important charge. She leaves us, during the first years of our infancy, in the hands of our parents; but no sooner does reason dawn, than she loudly asserts the rights she has over us. Until that moment her sacred name had never been pronounced in our presence without the strongest demonstrations of love and respect; and now her eyes seek us and follow us every where. From her hand we receive our nourishment and clothing; and by her injunctions is it that the magistrates, the aged men, and all the citizens, are present at our sports, discover inquietude at our faults, endeavour to develope some germ of virtue in our words or actions, and in fine teach us, by their tender solicitude, that the state possesses nothing it holds so precious as ourselves; and that, now the children of our country, we are one day to become her consolation and her glory.

How is it possible that attentions which descend on us from such an elevation should not make on our souls profound and durable impressions? How is it possible not to adore a constitution which, promoting

[z] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 50.

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our interests both by sovereign goodness and supreme power so early gives us such an exalted idea of ourselves?

From this lively interest which our country takes in us, and from this tender affection which we begin to conceive for her, naturally results, on her side, an extreme severity, and on ours an implicit submission. Lycurgus, nevertheless, not contented to confine himself to the natural order of things, has made an obligation of our sentiments. No where are the laws so imperious, or so well observed, or the magistrates less indulgent or more respected. This happy harmony, absolutely necessary to retain in subjection men educated in the contempt of death, is the fruit of that education which is no other than the apprenticeship of obedience, and, if I may venture the expression, the tactics of all the virtues. During that we learn, that without order there can be neither courage, honour, or liberty; and that order cannot be maintained, unless we are masters of our will. Hence so many lessons, examples, painful sacrifices, and minute observances, that all concur to procure us this empire over ourselves, which is no less difficult to preserve than to obtain.

One of the principal magistrates keeps us continually assembled under his eye. Should he be obliged to absent himself for a moment, any citizen may supply his place, and put himself at our head.[a]

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 678.

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So essential is it forcibly to impress our imagination with a reverence for authority.

Our duties increase with our years, and the nature of the instructions we receive is proportioned to the progress of our reason; while the rising passions are either repressed by the multiplicity of exercises, or ably directed towards objects useful to the state.

At the time when these passions begin to display their violence, we never appear in public but in silence, with modesty in our countenances, our eyes cast down, and our hands concealed in our mantles;[b] in the attitude, in fine and with the gravity of Egyptian priests, and as if newly initiated in, and set apart for, the ministry of virtue.

The love of their country must introduce a spirit of union among the citizens, and the desire of pleasing and benefiting that country, the spirit of emulation. Here this union will not be disturbed by those storms which are elsewhere its destruction. Lycurgus has secured us from almost all the sources of jealousy, because he has rendered almost every thing common and equal among the Spartans.

We are every day assembled at public repasts, at which decency and frugality preside. By this regulation both want and excess, and the vices which are the consequence of these, are banished from the houses of individuals.[c]

I am permitted, when circumstances require, to

[b] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. [c] Id. ibid. p. 680. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 46.

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make use of the slaves, carriages, horses, or whatever else appertains to another citizen;[d] and this species of community of goods is so general, that it in some measure extends to our wives and children.[e] Hence, if unfruitful bonds unite an old man to a young woman, the obligation prescribed to the former to choose a young man distinguished for the beauties of his person and the qualities of his mind, to introduce him to his bed, and adopt the fruits of this new union.[f] Hence also, if an unmarried man wishes to have an offspring in whom he may survive, the permission granted him to borrow the wife of his friend, and to have by her children, which the husband brings up with his own, though they never share in the inheritance.[g] On the other side, if my son should dare to complain of having been insulted by any person, I should conclude him culpable, and should chastise him a second time, for having rebelled against that paternal authority which is divided among all the citizens.[h]

In depriving us of that property which produces so many divisions among men, Lycurgus was but the more attentive to favour emulation, which was become necessary to prevent the disgust which must ensue from too perfect an union, to fill up that void which the exemption from domestic cares[i] had left

[d] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 681. Aristot. de Rep. lib. 2. c. 5. t. ii. p. 317. [e] Plut. ibid. p. 50. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. [f] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 49. [g] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 676. [h] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237. [i] Id. ibid. p. 239.

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in the mind, to animate us during war and during peace, at every moment, and in every period of life.

This desire of preference and superiority, which so early manifests itself in youth, is considered as the germ of a useful rivalry. Three officers, named by the magistrates, select three hundred young men distinguished by their merit, form of them a separate class, and declare the motive of their choice to the public.[k] From that instant those who have been excluded, league against a promotion which seems to redound to their dishonour. Two bodies are then formed in the state, all the members of which, continually employed in watching each other, give information to the magistrate of every fault of their adversaries, publicly engage in competitions of generous and virtuous actions, and surpass themselves, the one to attain to the distinguished rank to which their rivals have been raised, and the other to preserve the honours that have been conferred upon them. It is from a similar motive that they are permitted to attack each other, and try their strength, almost whenever they meet. But these contests never have fatal consequences; for, as soon as any signs of rage appear in them, the meanest citizen may suspend them with a word; and if, by chance, his voice is not listened to, he may carry the parties before a tribunal, which, in this instance, will punish anger as a disobedience to the laws.[l]

The institutes of Lycurgus prepared us for a kind

[k] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 679. [l] Id. ibid. p. 680.

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of indifference for those goods, the acquisition of which costs us more anxiety than the possession can procure us pleasure. Our money is only of copper, the size and weight of which would betray the avaricious man who should endeavour to conceal it from his slaves.[m] We consider gold and silver as the poisons most to be dreaded in a state. If an individual should secrete them in his house, he could neither escape the continual researches of the public officers, nor the severity of the laws. We are neither acquainted with arts, commerce, nor any of the other means employed to multiply the wants and unhappiness of a people. What use, in fact, could we make of riches? Other legislators have endeavoured to increase their circulation, and philosophers to prevent their abuse. Lycurgus has rendered them useless to us. We have cottages, clothing, and bread; we have iron, and hands for the service of our country and our friends; and we have free and vigorous minds, incapable alike of supporting the tyranny of men, or that of our passions. These are our treasures.

We consider the excessive love of glory as a weakness, and the inordinate desire of fame as a crime. We have no historian, no orator, no panegyrist, nor any of those monuments which only attest the vanity of a people. The nations we have conquered will transmit our victories to posterity. We teach our children to be as brave and virtuous as their fa-

[m] Xen. de Rep. Lacod. p. 682. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 44.

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thers. The example of Leonidas, incessantly present to their memory, will excite them to emulation by day and night. You have only to ask them, and they will repeat to you, by rote, the names of the three hundred Spartans who died with that hero at Thermopylæ.[n]

We never can call by the name of grandeur that independence of the laws which in other countries the principal citizens affect. Licentiousness, certain of impunity, appears to us a meanness, which at once renders contemptible both the individual who is guilty of it, and the state by which it is tolerated. We believe that we are the equals of all other men, of whatever country or rank they may be, not excepting the great king of Persia himself. Yet the moment that our laws speak, all our haughtiness bows itself down, and the most powerful of our citizens hastens to obey the voice of the magistrate with as much submission as the meanest.[o] We fear our laws alone, because, Lycurgus having procured them to be approved by the oracle of Delphi, we have received them as the commands of the gods themselves;[p] and because, that wise lawgiver having adapted them to our real wants, they are the true foundation of our happiness.

From this first sketch you will easily perceive that Lycurgus ought not to be considered as a simple legislator, but as a profound philosopher and an enlightened reformer; that his legislation is at once a

[n] Herodot. lib. 7. c. 224. [o] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 683.
[p] Id. ibid.

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system of morals and politics; that his laws have a never ceasing influence on our manners and sentiments; and that, while other legislators have confined themselves to the prevention of evil, he has constrained us to effect positive good, and to be virtuous.[q]

He was the first who had a just knowledge of the strength and weakness of man, which he has so employed and adapted to the duties and wants of the citizen, that, among us the interests of individuals are always inseparable from those of the republic. Be not then surprised that one of the most inconsiderable states of Greece is become the most powerful.[r] Here every thing is employed so as to produce its effect. There is not the smallest degree of power which is not directed toward the general good, nor a single act of virtue which is lost to our country.

The system of Lycurgus could not but produce just and pacific men; it is nevertheless a melancholy reflection, that unless they could be transported to some distant and inaccessible island, they must at length be enslaved by the vices or the arms of the neighbouring nations. The legislator endeavoured to prevent both these evils. He did not permit foreigners to enter Laconia except on certain days,[s] nor the inhabitants to go out of it[t] but for very important reasons. The situation of the country was favourable

[q] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 685. [r] Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 18. Xenoph. ibid. p. 675. Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53. [s] Aristoph. in Av. v. 1014. Schol. ejusd. in Pac. v. 622. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 144; lib. 2. c. 39. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 56. in Agid. p. 799. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 238. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 2. c. 9. [t] Plut. in Protag. t. i. p. 342.

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to the enforcing of this law. Surrounded by seas and mountains, we have only some defiles to guard, to stop corruption on our frontiers. The prohibition of commerce and navigation was the consequence of this regulation,[u] and from this prohibition resulted the inestimable advantage of having but a very few laws, since it has been remarked that only one half the number is necessary to a city not engaged in commerce.[x]

It was still more difficult to conquer than to corrupt us. From the rising of the sun to his going down, from our earliest years to the close of life, we are continually under arms, continually prepared for the enemy, even observing a more exact discipline than if we were within sight of an invading army. On whichever side you turn your eyes, you will less imagine yourself in a city than in a camp;[y] you will see nothing but marches, evolutions, attacks, and battles; you will only hear the shouts of victory or the recital of great actions. These formidable preparations are not only the recreations of our leisure but our security, by spreading far and wide the terror and respect which constantly accompany the name of Lacedæmonian.

Many of our laws are suited to inspire and encourage this military spirit. While young, we every morning take the exercise of the chase;[z] and after-

[u] Plut. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. [x] Plat. de Rep. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 842. [y] Plat. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 666. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 54. Isocr. in Archid. t. ii. p. 53. [z] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291.

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wards, as often as the duties we have to fulfil leave us intervals of leisure.[a] Lycurgus has recommended to us this exercise, as the image of danger and of victory.

While our youth are engaged with ardour in this sport, it is permitted them to range the country, and carry off whatever they may find which suits their convenience.[b] They are permitted the same in the city, and are esteemed to have committed no crime, but to be deserving of praise, if they are not detected; but are blamed and punished if discovered. This law, which appears to be borrowed from the Egyptians,[c] has brought much censure on Lycurgus.[d] It seems, in fact, as if its natural consequence must be to inspire our youth with an inclination to disorder and robbery; but it in reality only produces in them more address and activity, in the other citizens more vigilance, and in all a greater aptitude to foresee the designs of an enemy, to prepare snares for him, or to avoid those which he may prepare.[e]

Before we conclude, let us recur to the principles from which we set out. A healthy and vigorous body, and a mind free from anxiety and wants, constitute the natural happiness of men in solitude; and the union and emulation of citizens, that which ought to be his object in society. If the laws of

[a] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 680. [b] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291. [c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. p. 72. Aul. Gell. lib. 11. c. 18. [d] Isocr. Panath. t. ii. p. 291. [e] Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. p. 677. Heracl. Pont. de Polit. in Antiq. Græc. v. vi. p. 2823. Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 51. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 237.

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Lycurgus have fulfilled the views of nature and society, we enjoy the best of constitutions. But you will examine it in detail, and be able to judge whether in fact it ought to inspire us with pride.

I then asked Damonax how such a constitution could subsist; for, said I, since it is equally founded on the laws and on manners, the same punishments ought to be inflicted for offences against the one as for crimes against the other; and would you condemn to death, like criminals, those citizens who have forfeited their honour?

We condemn them, replied he, to a severer punishment; we suffer them to live, and render them miserable. In corrupted states the man who dishonours himself is every where blamed, and every where received;[f] with us ignominy follows, and torments him wherever he goes. We punish him both in himself and what is most dear to him. His wife, condemned to waste her days in tears, is not allowed to appear in public; and if he himself ventures abroad, he must, by the negligence of his dress, confess his shame, and keep at a respectful distance from every citizen he meets. At our games, he is banished to a place where he is exposed to the view and contempt of the public. A thousand deaths are not to be compared to this punishment.

Another difficulty, said I, likewise presents itself. I cannot but fear lest Lycurgus, by thus weakening your passions, and depriving you of all those objects of interest and ambition which set in motion other

[f] Xen. de Rep. Laced. p. 684.

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nations, should have left in your minds a vast vacuity. What in fact can remain in them? The enthusiasm of valour, replied he; the love of our country, carried even to fanaticism; the sense of our liberty; the delicious pride which our virtues inspire; and the esteem of a people of citizens sovereignly estimable. Can you imagine that, under the influence of emotions so lively, our minds can sink into inactivity and torpor?

I know not, replied I, whether a whole people are capable of sentiments so sublime, or whether they can be sustained at such an elevation. He answered: When it is wished to form the character of a nation, the beginning should be made by the principal citizens. When these are once put in motion, and their efforts directed toward great objects, they draw after them the great body of the people, who are rather led by examples than principles. A soldier who behaves cowardly when he follows a timid general, will perform prodigies when commanded by a hero.

But, added I, by banishing luxury and the arts, have you not deprived yourselves of the enjoyments they procure? We shall always find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the best means to arrive at happiness is to proscribe pleasures. In fine, to judge of the merit of your laws, we ought to know whether, with all your virtues, you are equally happy with the other Greeks. We believe ourselves to be much more so, replied he, and that persuasion is sufficient to render us so in reality.

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Damonax, as he concluded, requested me not to forget, that, according to our agreement, our conversation had only turned on the spirit of the laws of Lycurgus, and on the manners of the ancient Spartans.

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NOTES.

NOTE I.—CHAP. XXVII.—PAGE 6.

On the Chord named Proslambanomenos.

I HAVE chosen B for the first degree of this scale, and not the proslambanomenos A, as the writers posterior to the time of these conversations have done. The silence of Plato, Aristotle, and Aristoxenus, convinces me that, in their time, the proslambanomenos was not yet introduced into the musical system.

NOTE II.—Same Chap.—PAGE 11.

On the Number of Tetrachords introduced into the Lyre.

ARISTOXENUS speaks of five tetrachords which formed in his time the grand system of the Greeks. It appears to me that this system was not so extensive in the days of Plato and Aristotle; but as Aristoxenus was a scholar of Aristotle, I thought I might venture to advance that this multiplication of tetrachords began to be introduced in the time of the latter.

NOTE III.—Same Chap.—PAGE 16.

On the Number of Notes or Characters employed in ancient Music.

M. BURETTE (*a*) pretends that the ancients had 1620 notes

(*a*) Mem. de l'Acad. t. v. p. 182.

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or signs to express musical sounds, as well for the scale of voices as for that of instruments. He adds, that, after several years application, the performer could sing or solfa on all the tones, and in all the genera, accompanying the voice with the lyre. M. Rousseau (*b*) and M. Duclos (*c*) have asserted the same thing after M. Burette.

The latter has not given us his calculation, but we may see in what manner he has deduced it. He begins from the time when there were fifteen modes. In each mode, each of the eighteen strings of the lyre had two appropriate species of character, one for the voice, the other for the instrument, which made thirty-six notes for each mode: now there were fifteen modes; multiplying 36, therefore, by 15, we shall have 540. Each mode, accordingly as it was executed in one of the three genera, had different notes: the number 540 then must be again multiplied by 3, which produces 1620.

M. Burette did not recollect, that, in a lyre of eighteen strings, eight of them were fixed, and consequently retained the same appropriate signs for whatever genus the lyre was mounted.

It appears to me, that the notes employed in the three genera of each mode amounted in all to 33 for the voice, and to the same number for instruments, making a total of 66. Let us now multiply the number of notes by that of the modes, that is to say, 66 by 15, and, instead of the 1620 notes which M. Burette supposes, we shall have only 990; 495 for vocal, and as many for instrumental music.

Notwithstanding this reduction, we cannot but be astonished, at first sight, at this great number of characters formerly employed in music, forgetting how very numerous they are even with ourselves, since our keys, our sharps, and flats, change the import of a note placed on each line, and at each interval. The Greeks had more than we have, their scale required consequently rather more study than ours. But I am far from thinking with M. Burette, that whole years were necessary to render it familiar.

(*b*) Dict. de Mus. al' Art. Notes. (*c*) Mem. de l'Acad. t. xxi. p. 202.

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Note iv.—Same Chap.—Page 27.

On the Doric and Phrygian Harmonies.

Authors are not perfectly agreed respecting the character of the Phrygian harmony. According to Plato, it was more tranquil than the Doric, inspired moderation, and was suitable to devotion.(*d*) According to Aristotle, it was turbulent, and fitted for enthusiasm.(*e*) He quotes the airs of Olympus, (*f*) which filled the soul with a divine fury. Yet Olympus had composed on this mode a *Nomos* for the sage Minerva.(*g*) Hyagnis, still more ancient than Olympus, and author of several sacred hymns, always employed in them the Phrygian harmony.(*h*)

Note v.—Same Chap,—Page 28.

Of the Character of Music in its Origin.

Plutarch says that the musicians of his time made vain attempts to imitate the manner of Orpheus. The celebrated Tartini expresses himself in the same terms, when speaking of the old church hymns: *Bisogna*, says he, *confessar certamente esservene qualcheduna* (*Cantilena*) *talmente piena di gravità, maestà, e dolcezza congiunta a somma simplicità musicale, che noi moderni duraremmo fatica molta per produrne di eguali.*(*i*)*

Note vi.—Same Chap.—Page 35.

On a singular Expression of Plato.

To justify this expression, we must recollect the extreme licentiousness which prevailed in most of the Grecian republics in the days of Plato. After attacking institutions, to the objects

(*d*) De Rep. lib. 3. tom. ii. page 399. (*e*) Id. ibid. lib. 8. t. ii. p. 459. (*f*) P. 455. (*g*) Plut. de Mus. t. ii. p. 1143. (*h*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. x. p. 257. (*i*) Tartin. Trattat. di Mus. p. 144. * It must be confessed, that there are some so full of gravity, majesty, and sweetness, conjoined with the most perfect musical simplicity, that to equal them would certainly cost our modern composers prodigious labour.

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of which it was a stranger, it successively destroyed the most sacred ties which collect the body politic. The first encroachment was to introduce alterations in the hymns consecrated to the worship of the gods, and the next step to sport with oaths rendered in their presence.(*k*) Some philosophers observing this general corruption, had the courage to advance, that, in a state governed still more by manners than by laws, the smallest innovations are attended with danger, as they are soon likely to be followed by still greater. It was not music alone, therefore, which they wished to secure from innovation; the prohibition extended to the games, to public exhibitions, to gymnastic exercises.(*l*) These ideas too were borrowed from the Egyptians. That people, or rather those who governed them, jealous of maintaining their authority, could conceive no better method of repressing the restlessness of the minds of men, than to arrest them in their first attempts at novelty; hence those laws which prohibited artists from in the least indulging their genius and fancy, and obliging them servilely to copy their predecessors.(*m*)

NOTE VII.—Same Chap.—PAGE 38.

On the effects of Music.

THE following is an observation of Tartini: (*n*) "Music is but the art of combining sounds: nothing now remains of it but its material part, divested of all that spirit with which it formerly was animated. By neglecting the rules which directed its operation to a single point, its object is now vague and general. If I experience from it impressions of joy or grief, they are wild and indefinite; for the effect of the art is perfect only when it is specific and individual."

NOTE VIII.—CHAP. XXXI.—PAGE 112.

On the Commencement of the Cycle of Meton.

THE day on which Meton placed the summer solstice cor-

(*k*) Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. t. ii. p. 701. (*l*) Id. de Rep. lib. 4. t. ii. p. 424. de Leg. lib. 7. t. ii. p. 797. (*m*) Id. de Leg. lib. 2. t. ii. p. 656. (*n*) Tartini. Tratt. di Mus. p. 141 et 145.

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responded to the 27th of June of our Julian year; and that on which he commenced his new cycle to the 16th of July.(o)

The 19 solar years of Meton contain 6940 days.(p) The 19 lunar years, together with their 7 intercalary months, form 235 lunations, which, at 30 days each, give 7050 days: they were, therefore, longer than the former by 110 days. To render them equal, Meton reduced 110 of those lunations to 29 days each, which left 6940 days for the 19 lunar years.(q)

Note ix.—Same Chap.—Page 116.

On the Length of the Solar and Lunar Years, as determined by Meton.

Five-nineteenths of a day make 6 hours, 18 minutes, 56 seconds, 50 thirds, &c. The solar year of Meton, therefore, contained 365 days, 6 hours, 18′, 56″, 50.‴(r) Our modern astronomers compute it to contain 365 days, 5 hours, 48′, 43 or 45″.(s) The difference between our year and that of Meton is therefore 30′ and about 12″.

The synodical revolution of the moon was performed, according to Meton, in 29 days, 12 hours, 45′, 57″, 26‴, &c.(t) By modern observations, it is performed in 29 days, 12 hours, 44′, 3″, 10‴, &c.(u) The lunar year of Meton contained 354 days, 9 hours, 11′, 29″, 21‴, and was shorter than the solar year by 10 days, 21 hours, 7′, 27″, 29‴.(x)

Note x.—Same Chap.—Page 117.

On the Dials of the Ancients.

We may form some idea of these dials from the following example. Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth cen-

(o) See Scaliger, de Emend. Temp. lib. 2. p. 77. Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 63, et Var. Dissert. lib. 6. c. 10. t. iii. p. 131. Ricciol. Almag. t. i. p. 242. Freret, Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. Hist. t. xviii. p. 144. Dodwell, &c. (p) Censor. c. 18. (q) Gemin. ap. Petav. t. iii. p. 28. (r) Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 62. Ricciol. Almag. lib. 4. p. 242. (s) De Lalande, Astronom. t. i. p. 55. Baill. Hist. de l'Astron. Anc. p. 448. (t) Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 62. (u) De Lalande, Astronom. t. ii. p. 291. (x) Petav. de Doct. Temp. t. i. p. 62.

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tury after Christ, and has left us a treatise on agriculture, has placed at the end of each month a table, in which is given the correspondence of the divisions of the day, with the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon.(*y*) It must be observed, first, that this correspondence is the same in the months equidistant from the solstice, in January and December, February and November, &c.; 2dly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equidistant from noon. The following is the table for January.

Hours	I.	and XI.	Feet	29.
——	II.	— X.	—	19.
——	III.	— IX.	—	15.
——	IV.	— VIII.	—	12.
——	V.	— VII.	—	10.
——	VI.	—	—	9.

This dial seems to have been adapted to the climate of Rome. The passages I have cited in the text prove that similar ones were constructed for that of Athens. For further particulars, the reader may consult the learned authors who have written on the dials of the ancients. (*z*)

Note xi.—Chap. XXXIII.—Page 139.

On the Voyages of Plato to Sicily.

Plato made three voyages to Sicily, the first in the reign of Dionysius the elder, and the two others in that of the younger Dionysius, who ascended the throne in the year 367 before Christ.

The first must be placed in the year 389 before that æra, since Plato, on the one hand, says that he was then forty years of age; (*a*) and there is other evidence to prove that he was born in the year 429 before Christ. (*b*)

The date of the two last voyages has been determined solely from an erroneous calculation of Father Corsini, the only learned modern perhaps who has bestowed any attention on the subject.

(*y*) Pallad. ad. Script. Rei. Rust. t. ii. p. 905. (*z*) Salmas. Exercit. in Solin. t. i. p. 632. Casaub. in Athen. lib. 6. c. 10. et lib. 9. c. 17. Petav. Var. Dissert. lib. 7. c. 8. t. iii. (*a*) Plat. Epist. t. iii. p. 324. (*b*) Corsini, Dissert. de Natal. Die. Plat. in Symbol. Lettr. vol. vi. p. 97.

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The following facts will serve to clear up this point of chronology.

Plato journeyed into Sicily with a design of effecting a reconciliation between Dion and the king of Syracuse. He remained from twelve to fifteen months in that country; and, on his return, finding Dion at the Olympic games, informed him of the bad success of his negotiation. Let us, therefore, determine the year in which these games were celebrated, and we shall have the date of the last voyage of Plato. We might perhaps hesitate between the games of the 304th, 305th, and 306th Olympiads, that is, between the years 364, 360, and 356 before Christ, but the following remark removes all difficulty.

In the first months of Plato's residence at Syracuse, there was a visible eclipse of the sun. (*c*) After his interview with Dion, the latter determined to attempt an expedition into Sicily, and whilst he was embarking his troops at Zacynthus, there happened, in the midst of summer, a lunar eclipse, which terrified the soldiers. (*d*) The Olympic year in question, therefore, must have been, 1st, preceded by a solar eclipse, about a year before, and visible at Syracuse; 2dly, it must have been followed one, two, or even three years after, by an eclipse of the moon happening in the hottest part of the summer, and visible at Zacynthus. Now, on the 12th of May, 361 before Christ, at four in the afternoon, there was an eclipse of the sun, visible at Syracuse; and on the 9th of August 357 before Christ, an eclipse of the moon visible at Zacynthus: hence it follows, that the third voyage of Plato was in the spring of 361, and the expedition of Dion in the month of August, 357; and as it appears by the letters of Plato, (*e*) that only two or three years had elapsed between the end of his second voyage, and the beginning of the third, the second may be placed in the year 364 before the Christian æra.

I have been led to this conclusion by a table of eclipses, for which I am indebted to M. de Lelande, and which contains all the solar and lunar eclipses, the former as visible at Syracuse, the latter at Zacynthus, from the accession of the younger Dionysius to the throne, in the year 367, to the year 350 before

(*c*) Plut. in Dion. tom. i. p. 966. (*d*) Id. ibid. p. 968. (*e*) Plat. t. iii. epist. 3. p. 317; epist. 7. p. 338.

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Christ. The reader will perceive, that any other Olympic year but that of 360 would be inadequate to the solution of the problem. He will hence discover likewise a chronological error of Father Corsini, which would readily be perpetuated under the sanction of his name, were not care taken to correct it.

This learned author supposes, as I also do, that Plato gave an account of his last voyage to Dion at the Olympic games of the year 360; but he proceeds on a false supposition; for, by referring to the 9th of August of that year, the lunar eclipse, which happened in 357 he fixes for the year 360, and at an interval only of a few days, the expedition of Dion and his interview with Plato at the Olympic games. (*f*) This is not the place here to refute the inferences he draws from the erroneous calculation which he has made, or which was made for him, of this eclipse. Let us adhere to certain facts. The lunar eclipse of the 9th of August was unquestionably of the year 357; the departure, therefore, of Dion for Sicily was in the month of August 357. His meeting with Plato was at the last festival of Olympia: Plato then, on his return from his third voyage, attended at the Olympic games of the year 360. I could demonstrate that the eclipse justifies, on this occasion, the chronology of Diodorus Siculus; (*g*) but it is time to conclude this note.

Note xii.—Chap. XXXIV.—Page 172.

On the Names of the Muses.

Erato signifies *the amiable;* Urania, *the celestial;* Calliope may signify *elegance of language;* Euterpe, *she who pleaseth;* Thalia, *lively joy, and especially the festivity of banquets;* Melpomene, *she who delighteth in singing;* Polymnia, *multiplicity of songs;* Terpsichore, *she who delighteth in the dance;* Clio, *glory.*

(*f*) Corsin. Dissert. de Nat. Die. Plat. in Symbol. Litter. vol. vi. p. 114.
(*g*) Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 413.

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NOTE XIII.—Same Chap.—PAGE 174.

On the Secret Outlets of the Cavern of Trophonius.

A SHORT time after the journey of Anacharsis to Lebadea, one of the attendants of King Demetrius came to consult that oracle. The priests suspected his intentions. He was seen to enter the cavern, but never to come out of it. Some days after, his body was thrown out of the cave, by an outlet different from that by which it was commonly entered. (*h*)

NOTE XIV.—Same Chap.—PAGE 181.

On the Circumference of the City of Thebes.

IN the poetical description of the state of Greece, by Dicæarchus, (*i*) the circumference of Thebes is said to be 43 stadia, or one league and something more than a half. In the prose description of the same author (page 14), we are told that it was 70 stadia, or two leagues and more than a half. This is supposed to be an error of the copyist in the latter text. It may be as reasonably supposed, that the author, in the first passage, speaks of the circumference of the lower town, and that in the second he includes the citadel.

Dicæarchus is not speaking of the Thebes destroyed by Alexander, the Thebes mentioned in this work. But as Pausanias assures us, (*k*) that Cassander, when he rebuilt it, restored its ancient walls, it appears that the ancient and modern city were of the same circumference.

NOTE XV.—Same Chap.—PAGE 182.

On the Number of Inhabitants at Thebes.

WE can only approach the number of inhabitants at Thebes by conjectural computation. When that city was taken by

(*h*) Pausan. lib. 9. c. 39. p. 792. (*i*) Ap. Geograph. Min. t. ii. p. 7. v. 94. et 95. (*k*) Lib. 9. c. 7. p. 725.

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Alexander, upwards of six thousand persons perished, and more than thirty thousand were sold for slaves. The priests, and those who were connected, by the ties of hospitality or other means, with Alexander or his father Philip, were spared. Many citizens, no doubt, fled. (*l*) From these data, therefore, we may presume that the number of inhabitants in Thebes, and its district, might amount to fifty thousand of all ages and sexes, without including slaves. The Baron de Sainte-Croix considers this estimate as exaggerated. (*m*) I venture not to be of his opinion.

Note xvi.—Chap. XXXV.—Page 204.

On the States which sent Deputies to the Amphictyonic Council.

Ancient authors differ respecting the states which sent deputies to the council. Æschines, whom I have cited at the bottom of the page, and whose testimony is at least for his time, preferable to any other, as he was himself a deputy, names the Thessalians, the Bœotians, the Dorians, the Ionians, the Perrhæbians, the Magnesians, the Locrians, the Oeteans, the Phthians, the Malians, and the Phocians. Copyists have omitted the twelfth, which critics suppose to have been the Dolopians.

Note xvii.—Same Chap.—Page 232.

On the Height of Mount Olympus.

Plutarch (*n*) gives us an ancient inscription, by which it appears that Xenagoras had found the height of Olympus to be 10 stadia and 1 plethrum, wanting six feet. The plethrum, according to Suidas, was the sixth part of a stadium, and consequently contained fifteen toises, 4 feet, 6 inches. Deduct these 4 feet 6 inches, and there remain 15 toises, which added to the 945 given us by the 10 stadia, we have 960 toises, (2045 yards

(*l*) Diod. Sic. lib. 17. p. 497. Plat. in Alex. t. i. p. 670. Ælian. lib. 13 c. 7. (*m*) Exam. Crit. de l'Hist. d'Alex. p. 46. (*n*) Paul. Æmil. t. i. p. 263.

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English) for the height of Olympus. M. Bernouilli, by his measurement, finds it to be 1017 toises (*o*) (or 2167 yards).

Note xviii.—Chap. XXXVI.—Page 247.

On the Burning Fountain of Dodona.

Nearly the same account was given of the burning fountain situate at three leagues from Grenoble, long considered as one of the seven wonders of Dauphine. But the prodigy has vanished since the causes which produced it have been investigated. (*p*)

Note xix.—Chap. XXXVII.—Page 290.

On Dædalus of Sicyon.

The ancient writers often speak of Dædalus of Athens, to whom they attribute the most important discoveries in arts and trades; the saw, the axe, the augur, isinglass, ship sails, masts, &c. In Crete was shown a labyrinth of his construction; in Sicily, a citadel and baths; large edifices in Sardinia, and every where a great number of statues. (*q*) Prior to Dædalus, it is added, statues had their eyes shut, their arms closely adhering to the body, and their feet joined; he opened their eyelids, and detached their feet and hands. (*r*) It was this Dædalus, in fine, who contrived to give motion to wooden figures by means of quicksilver, or by secret internal springs. (*s*) It must be observed, that he is styled a contemporary of Minos, and that most of the discoveries, the honour of which is given to him, are attributed by other writers to artists who lived long after his time.

By comparing the hints furnished by authors and monuments, it appears to me that painting and sculpture did not make any

(*o*) Buffon. Epoq. de la Nature, p. 303. (*p*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Sciences, année 1699, p. 28. Hist. Crit. des Pratiq. Superst. t. i. p. 44. (*q*) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. p. 235 et 276. Plin. lib. 7. c. 56. p. 414. Pausan. lib. 9. c. 40. p. 793. (*r*) Id. ibid. p. 276. Themist. Orat. 26. p. 316. Suid. in Δαίδαλ. (*s*) Plat. in Men. t. ii. p. 97. Arist. de Anim. lib. 1. c. 3. t. i. p. 622. Id. de Rep. lib. 1. c. 4. t. 1. p. 299. Scalig. Animad. in Euseb. p. 45.

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progress among the Greeks, before the two centuries, one of which preceded, and the other succeeded, the first Olympiad, fixed at the year 776 before the Christian æra. M. de la Nauze has drawn the same conclusion from his researches relative to painting. (*t*)

I therefore thought that I might, with the greatest probability, attribute the changes in the form of the ancient statues to this Dædalus, of Sicyon, who is frequently mentioned by Pausanias,(*u*) and who lived in the interval between the year 700 and the year 600 before Christ. The following testimonies seem favourable to this supposition.

Some, says Pausanias,(*x*) gave Dædalus for pupils Dipœnus and Scillus, whom Pliny(*y*) places before the reign of Cyrus, and towards the 50th Olympiad, beginning in the year 580 before Christ, which would carry back the age of Dædalus to about the year 610 before that æra.

Aristotle, quoted by Pliny,(*z*) asserts that Euchir, a relation of Dædalus, was the first inventor of painting among the Greeks. If this Euchir be the same who applied himself to plastice, and accompanied Demaratus of Corinth into Italy,(*a*) this new synchronism will confirm the preceding date; for Demaratus was father of Tarquin, the elder, who ascended the throne about the year 614 before Christ.

Lastly, Athenagoras,(*b*) after speaking of different artists of Corinth and Sicyon, who lived posterior to Hesiod and Homer, adds, "After them appeared Dædalus and Theodorus, who were of Miletus, the inventors of statuary and plastice."

I do not deny the existence of a very ancient Dædalus; I only say that the first improvement of sculpture should be ascribed to the Dædalus of Sicyon.

Note xx.—Chap. XX.—Page 311.

On the Ornaments of the Throne of Jupiter.

It may be presumed that these thirty-seven figures were in relievo, and placed on the traverses of the throne. The subjects

(*t*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettr. t. xxv. p. 267. (*u*) Lib. 6. c. 3. p. 457.
Id. lib. 10. c. 9. p. 819. (*x*) Lib. 2. c. 15. p. 143. (*y*) Lib. 36. c. 4. p. 724.
(*z*) Lib. 7. p. 417. (*a*) Plin. lib. 35. c. 12. p. 710. (*b*) Apolog. p. 128.

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represented on each of the feet might likewise be differently disposed from the idea I have adopted. The description of Pausanias is extremely concise and vague. By endeavouring to clear it up, we run the risk of confusing ourselves; by adhering to a literal translation, there is a danger of not being understood.

Note xxi.—Same Chap.—Page 311.

On the Order of the Combats at the Olympic Games.

This order varied from the frequent greater or less number of the combats, and the changes induced by motives of convenience. The order I have assigned them is not conformable to the testimonies of Xenophon (*c*) and Pausanias. (*d*) But these authors, who do not perfectly agree between themselves, speak only of three or four combats; and we have no light to direct us with respect to the disposition of others. In this state of uncertainty, I thought it better to aim at perspicuity. I have first spoken of the different courses of men, horses, and chariots, and then of the combats which took place in a circumscribed place, such as wrestling, boxing, &c. This is nearly the arrangement proposed by Plato in his treatise on laws. (*e*)

Note xxii.—Same Chap.—Page 336.

On Polydamas.

Pausanias and Suidas (*f*) make this athleta to live in the time of Darius Nothus king of Persia, about sixty years before the Olympic games, in which I suppose that he presented himself to combat. But, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Pellene affirmed that Polydamas was vanquished at the Olympic games, by one of their fellow citizens, named Promachus, who lived in the time of Alexander. (*g*) This difficulty in chronology is of very little importance; but I thought it proper to mention it, that it may not be urged against me.

(*c*) Hist. Græc. lib. 7. p. 638. (*d*) Lib. 5. p. 396. (*e*) Lib. 8. t. ii. p. 833.
(*f*) Pausan. lib. 6. c. 5. p. 464. Suid. in Πολυδ. (*g*) Id. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 595.

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Note xxiii.—Chap. XXXIX.—Page 352.

On the Residence of Xenophon at Scillus.

A short time before the battle of Mantinea, in the year 362 before Christ, the Eleans destroyed Scillus, and Xenophon retired to Corinth,(*h*) where I placed him in the ninth chapter of this work. An ancient author affirms that he there ended his days. (*i*) But according to Pausanias, his tomb was preserved in the district of Scillus; (*k*) and Plutarch assures us, that, in this retreat Xenophon composed his history, (*l*) which comes down to the year 357 before Christ. (*m*) We may therefore suppose that, after having resided some time at Corinth, he returned to Scillus, where he passed the latter years of his life.

Note xxiv.—Chap. XL.—Page 377.

On the three Elegies relative to the Wars of the Messenians.

Pausanias (*n*) has given a long account of these wars, from Myron of Priene, who wrote in prose, and Rhianus of Crete, who composed in verse. (*o*) Following the example of the latter, I have adopted a kind of style that approaches to poetry; but instead of making with Rhianus a sort of poem, of which Aristomenes (*p*) was the hero, I have preferred the form of an elegy —a form which required not the display of some great action, as that of the epopœia does, and which the most ancient authors often chose to record the calamities of nations. It was thus that Tyrtæus in his elegies described, in part, the wars of the Lacedæmonians and Messenians; (*q*) Callinus those which in his time distressed Iönia; (*r*) and Mimnermus, the battle which the people of Smyrna fought against Gyges, king of Lydia. (*s*)

(*h*) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. § 53. (*i*) Demetr. Magn. ap. Diog. Laërt. ibid. § 56. (*k*) Pausan. lib. 5. p. 389. (*l*) Plut. de Exil. t. ii. p. 605. (*m*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 6. p. 601. Diod. Sic. lib. 16. p. 418. (*n*) Pausan. lib. 4. (*o*) Id. ibid. c. 6. p. 293. (*p*) Id. ibid. (*q*) Id. ibid. p. 294; c. 13. p. 312; c. 14. p. 313; c. 15. p. 315. (*r*) Mem. de l'Acad. des Bell. Lettres, t. vii. p. 865. (*s*) Pausan. lib. 9. c. 29. p. 766.

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I have therefore supposed that the Messenians, sheltered in the retreats of Libya, and recalling to memory the disasters of their country, had composed three elegies on the three wars which had laid it waste. I have related the principal facts as accurately as possible; but I have ventured to interweave in the narrative some fictions for which I request indulgence.

NOTE XXV.—CHAP. XL.—PAGE 396.

On the Foundation of Messina in Italy.

PAUSANIAS tells us, that after the taking of Eira, that is, about the year 668 before Christ, the Messenians, under the conduct of Gorgus, son of Aristomenes, went into Italy, and joined their arms with those of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, drove out the inhabitants, and gave to that city the name of Messena (at present Messina) (*t*).

This account is directly contrary both to that of Herodotus and that of Thucydides. According to the former, Darius, son of Hystaspes, having subdued Ionia, which had revolted against him, the people of Samos, and some of the inhabitants of Miletus, retired to Sicily, where, by the advice of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, they seized on the city of Zancle.(*u*) The date of this event is toward the year 495 before Christ, and posterior, by about 173 years to the time at which Pausanias places the reign of Anaxilas, and the change of the name of Zancle into that of Messena.

Thucydides relates, that a body of Samians and other Ionians, driven from their country by the Medes, seized on Zancle in Sicily. He adds, that not long after, Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, made himself master of this city, and gave it the name of Messena, because he was himself originally from Messena.(*x*)

Father Corsini, who had at first suspected that there might have been two princes of the name of Anaxilas,(*y*) has acknow-

(*t*) Pausan. lib. 4. cap. 23. p. 335. (*u*) Herod. lib. 6. cap. 22 et 23. (*x*) Thucyd. lib. 6. c. 4 et 5. (*y*) Corsin. Fast. Attic. t. iii. p. 140.

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ledged, on further examination, that Pausanias has mistaken the time.(z) It is manifest, indeed, from various circumstances, that Anaxilas reigned at the time of the battle of Marathon, or about the year 490 before Christ. I shall only add two observations to those of Father Corsini.

1st, Before this battle there had been a revolt in Messenia which, in part, prevented the Lacedæmonians from being present at the battle.(a) It succeeded no better than the former had done, and it was then, no doubt, that the Messenians, after their defeat, took refuge with Anaxilas of Rhegium, whom they induced to seize on the city Zancle, which afterward bore the name of Messena.

2dly, If it were true, as Pausanias affirms, that this city had changed its name, immediately after the second war of Messenia, it would follow that the ancient coins on which we read *Dancle*, must be anterior to the year 668 before Christ, which their fabric will not permit us to suppose.

Note xxvi.—Chap. xli.—Page 424.

On the Number of the Tribes of Sparta.

In almost all the great cities of Greece, the citizens were divided into tribes. At Athens, there were ten tribes. Cragius (b) supposes Lacedæmon to have contained six, viz. those of the Heraclidæ, the Ægidæ, the Limnatæ, the Cynosuræans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ. The existence of the first of these is not proved by any express testimony; Cragius has only founded it on very feeble conjectures, and I have therefore rejected it.

The five other tribes are expressly mentioned in authors, or on ancient monuments; that of the Ægidæ, in Herodotus; (c) those of the Cynosuræans and Pitanatæ, in Hesychius; (d) that of the Messonatæ, in Stephen of Byzantium; (e) and lastly, that of the Limnatæ, in an inscription which the Abbè Fourmont discovered among the ruins of Sparta. (f) Pausanias mentions

(z) Corsin. Fast. Attic. p. 155. (a) Plat. de Leg. lib. 3. tom. ii. p. 698. (b) De Rep. Laced. lib. 1, c. 6. (c) Lib. 4. c. 149. (d) In Κυνος. et in Πιτανάτ. (e) In Μέσσ. (f) Inscript. Fourmont. in Biblioth. Reg. Fran.

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four of these tribes, when he tells us that at the celebration of a sacrifice which had been offered to Diana, from the earliest times, a dispute arose between the Limnatæ, the Cynosureans, the Messoatæ, and the Pitanatæ.(*g*)

It may be here asked, whether, because we find no mention of more than these five tribes, it follows that they should therefore be confined to that number? I answer, that we have very strong presumptive reasons why they should not be increased. We have seen above, that there were at Athens several bodies, consisting each of ten magistrates chosen from the ten tribes. In the same manner, we find at Sparta several magistracies, exercised each by five public officers; as that of the Ephori, that of the Bidiæi (*h*) and that of the Agathoergi,(*i*) and we have reason to believe that each tribe furnished one of these officers.

NOTE XXVII.—SAME CHAP.—PAGE 424.

On the Plan of Lacædemon.

I HAVE ventured, after the feeble lights which have been transmitted to us by ancient authors, to present the reader with some general ideas on the topography of Lacedæmon.

According to Thucydides this city did not form one continued whole, like that of Athens, but was divided into towns or hamlets, as were the ancient cities of Greece.(*k*)

Rightly to understand this passage we must recollect that the earliest inhabitants of Greece first settled in towns without walls, and that in the sequel, they united a number of these towns by one common enclosure. Of this we have numerous examples. Tegea was composed of nine such hamlets, (*l*) Mantinea of four or five, (*m*) Patræ of seven, Dyme of eight, (*n*) &c.

The inhabitants of these towns, when thus united, did not

(*g*) Pausan. lib. 3. c. 16. p. 249. (*h*) Id. ibid. c. 11. p. 231. (*i*) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 67. (*k*) Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 10. (*l*) Pausan. lib. 8. c. 45. p. 692. (*m*) Xen. Hist. Græc. lib. 5. p. 558. Ephor. ap. Harpocr. in Μαντιν. Diod. Sic. lib. 15. p. 331. (*n*) Strab. lib. 8. p. 337.

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intermingle with each other; they dwelt in different quarters, and formed different tribes; in consequence of which the same name signified the tribes and the quarter in which it was situate. My proofs for Lacedæmon in particular are as follow:

Cynosura, says Hesychius, is a tribe of Laconia; (*o*) it is a place in Laconia, says the scholiast on Callimachus. (*p*) According to Suidas, Messoa was a place; (*q*) according to Stephen of Byzantium, it was a place and a tribe of Laconia. (*r*) According to Strabo, (*s*) whose text has been happily restored by Salmasius, (*t*) Messoa made part of Lacedæmon; and lastly, Pitane is sometimes called a tribe (*u*) and sometimes a town. (*x*)

We now easily understand why some writers say that the poet Alcman was of Messoa, and others that he was of Lacedæmon: (*y*) we also conceive why a Spartan named Thrasybulus, having been killed in a battle, Plutarch does not say that he was brought home on his buckler to Lacedæmon, but to Pitane, (*z*) because he was of that borough, and was there to be buried.

We have seen, in a preceding note, that the Spartans were divided into five tribes; their capital must then have been composed of five hamlets; it therefore only remains for me to justify the position I have assigned to each in my plan.

1st, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE LIMNATÆ. Their name was derived from the Greek word Λίμνη, which signifies a lake or marsh. According to Strabo, the suburb of Sparta was called the marshes, because that place had formerly been a morass (*a*). But the suburb of Sparta must have been to the northward of the city, because travellers most frequently entered it on that side.

2dly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE CYNOSURÆANS. The word Cynosura signifies the *tail of a dog*. It was a name usually given to promontories or mountains which had that

(*o*) Hesych. in Κυνος. (*p*) Hymn. in Dian. v. 94. (*q*) Suid. in Μεσσα (*r*) Steph. in Μεσσα. (*s*) Strab. lib. 8. p. 364. Casaub. ibid. (*t*) In Plinian. Exercit. p. 825. (*u*) Hesych. in Πιτανη. (*x*) Schol. Thucyd. lib. 1. c. 20. (*y*) Salmas. ibid. Meurs. Miscell. Lacon. lib. 4. c. 17. (*z*) Plut. Apophth. Lacon. tom. ii. p. 235. (*a*) Strab. lib. 8. p. 263.

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form. A branch of Mount Taygetus, of this figure, extended to Sparta, and we have shown that there was in Laconia a place called Cynosura. We are therefore authorized to conjecture that the hamlet which bore this name was near that branch of Mount Taygetus.

3dly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE PITANATÆ. Pausanias, leaving the forum, takes his way toward the west, passes before the theatre, and afterward comes to the hall in which the Crotani, who made a part of the Pitanatæ, assembled. (*b*) This hamlet must then be placed in front of the theatre, the position of which is known, since the vestiges of it still remain. This is confirmed by a passage in Hesychius, and another in Herodotus, which show that the theatre was in the hamlet of the Pitanatæ. (*c*)

4thly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE MESSOATÆ. From the hamlet of the Pitanatæ, Pausanias proceeds to the Platanistas, (*d*) which was in the neighbourhood of the town of Therapne. Near the Platanistas he finds the tomb of the poet Alcman, (*e*) who, being of Messoa, must have been there buried.

5thly, HAMLET AND TRIBE OF THE ÆGIDÆ. Pausanias next conducts us to the town or hamlet of the Limnatæ, (*f*) which we have placed in the northern part of the city. On his way he finds the tomb of Ægeus, (*g*) who gave his name to the tribe of the Ægidæ. (*h*)

I have not surrounded all these hamlets with an enclosure, because, in the times of which I treat, Sparta had no walls.

The temples and other public edifices have been placed nearly in the positions assigned to them by Pausanias. In this particular a rigorous precision cannot be expected; the principal object was to give a general idea of this celebrated city.

(*b*) Pausan. lib. 3. c. 14. p. 240. (*c*) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 67. Hesych. in Πιτανατ. (*d*) Pausan. ibid. p. 242. (*e*) Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 244. (*f*) Id. ibid. c. 16. p. 248. (*g*) Id. ibid. c. 15. p. 245. (*h*) Herodot lib. 4. c. 149.

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NOTE XXVIII.—CHAP. XLII.—PAGE 433.

On the Manner in which the Spartans treated the Helots.

THE Lacedæmonians, alarmed at the loss of Pylos, which had been taken from them by the Athenians, resolved to send fresh troops to Brasidas, who was then in Thrace. For this they had two motives; the first to continue to make a diversion which might draw the arms of Athens into distant countries, and the other to enlist, and send away for Thrace, a body of those Helots whose youth and valour incessantly inspired them with well-founded fears. Liberty was therefore promised to those among them who should be found most to have distinguished themselves in the preceding wars. A great number claimed the proffered reward, and two thousand were chosen from among them, with whom the state kept its word. They were crowned with flowers, and conducted in solemn procession to the temples, which was the principal ceremony of enfranchisement. A short time after, says Thucydides, they all disappeared, and no person ever knew in what manner they were thus, to a man destroyed. (*i*) Plutarch, who has copied Thucydides, remarks also that it was not known at the time, nor has ever yet been discovered, by what kind of death these two thousand men perished. (*k*)

Lastly, Diodorus Siculus asserts that their masters received orders to put them to death within their houses. (*l*) But how could he be informed of a circumstance with which such an historian as Thucydides, who lived at the time when this barbarous massacre was perpetrated, was unacquainted?

Whatever the truth may be, we have here two facts which ought carefully to be distinguished, because they originate from two different causes; the one the enfranchisement of two thousand Helots, and the other the death of these Helots. Liberty was certainly granted them by order of the senate and the people; but it is also certain that they were not put to death by a decree enacted by the supreme power. No nation

(*i*) Thucyd. lib. 4. c. 80. (*k*) Plut. in Lyc. t. i. p. 56. (*l*) Diod Sic. lib. 12. p. 117.

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would have sanctioned so black an act of perfidy; and, in this particular case, it is manifest that the assembly of the Spartans only emancipated these Helots to arm and send them into Thrace. The ephori, about the same time, sent away a thousand other Helots to the army of Brasidas. (*m*) As these detachments sometimes left Sparta in the night, (*n*) the people might suppose that the two thousand men, who had been freed from servitude, had been sent to their place of destination; and when they discovered their mistake, it might be easy to persuade them that the magistrates, being in possession of proofs that they had conspired against the state, had privately put them to death, or had contented themselves with banishing them from the territories of the republic. It is impossible that we should now be able satisfactorily to elucidate a fact, which, in the time of Thucydides, was enveloped with obscurity; it is sufficient that I have shown that this crime ought not to be imputed to the nation, but rather to the false policy of the ephori then in office, who, possessing more power and less virtue than their predecessors, no doubt pretended that every thing is lawful when the safety of the state is in question; for it must be observed, that the principles of justice and morality were then beginning to be corrupted.

Other cruelties exercised by the Lacedæmonians on the Helots are also related. An author, named Myron, affirms that, incessantly to remind them they were slaves, they annually received a number of stripes with a whip. (*o*) Now there were perhaps a hundred thousand Helots in Laconia and Messenia; let any one, therefore, reflect for a moment on the absurdity of this project and the difficulty of executing it, and then say what credit is to be given to this tale. The same author adds, that a punishment was inflicted on those masters who did not mutilate such of their Helots as were born with a strong constitution of body. (*p*) But can we believe that all those Helots who were enrolled as soldiers, and served with so much distinction in the army, were maimed and cripples?

It happens but too often that we judge of the manners of a

(*m*) Diod. Sic. lib. 12. p. 117. (*n*) Herodot. lib. 9. c. 10. (*o*) Myr. ap. Athen. lib. 14. p. 657. (*p*) Id. ibid. Spanh. in Aristoph. Plut. v. 4.

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people from particular examples which have made impression on a traveller, or been related to an historian. When Plutarch tells us that the Spartans, to inspire their children with an aversion for drunkenness, brought before them a Helot who had been deprived of his reason by wine; (*q*) I cannot but doubt that he has taken a particular case for a general rule; or at least that he has, on this occasion, confounded the Helots with the domestic slaves, the condition of whom was very inferior to that of the former. But I give entire credit to Plutarch, when he assures us that the Helots were forbidden to sing the poetry of Alcman and Terpander, (*r*) because this poetry inspiring the love of glory and liberty, it was the part of sound policy to forbid its recital to men whose courage there was so much reason to fear.

(*q*) Plut. in Lycurg. t. i. p. 57. Id. Instit. Lacon. t. ii. p. 239. (*r*) Plut. ibid.

END OF VOL. III.

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